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FALSE POLITICAL PHRASES¹

WE are plagued with false political phrases. We are supposed to be associated with the British Commonwealth of Nations, although no such thing exists. We are alleged to be part of a third British Empire, although there never was more than one, and we have ceased to be part of it. We are called a dominion, although we have become a kingdom. We are said to be a confederation although we are a federation. We have ten governors, but not one of them has any governing authority. Sometimes we pleasantly sympathize with foreigners because of their difficulty in understanding our constitutional system. We seldom observe that it is not lack of perspicacity on their part, but lack of perspicuity on ours that accounts for the lack of comprehension.

THE BRITISH COMMONWEALTH OF NATIONS

Never was there introduced into constitutional, or probably into any other system of law, any phrase more indefensibly inaccurate, confusing, and damaging than British Commonwealth of Nations. Having a mouth-filling sonority, being easily regarded as patriotically laudatory, and not being hampered by any definiteness of meaning, it spread with astonishing rapidity. After a little more than a decade of its general use, we may calmly examine what it is, and what has become of it. And, first, what is a commonwealth?

Commonwealth, in the sense of public welfare or general good or advantage, is now obsolete. If used, it would be as two words, common wealth. The meaning accepted in the sixteenth century

¹This article was offered to the REVIEW by the late John S. Ewart just before his death. It gains a considerable interest, therefore, as a posthumous publication, although it adds little to his well known views. The article has been printed as it left Mr. Ewart's hand, and lacks the final revision which he would doubtless have given it. Mr. J. W. Daffoe, editor of the *Winnipeg free press*, kindly consented to write the article which follows that by Mr. Ewart. Mr. Daffoe's intimate knowledge of the development of Canada's imperial relations during the last generation and his own great contribution to that development ensures that his comment on Mr. Ewart's influence will have a permanent interest for students of Canadian history (ed.).

was: "The whole body of people constituting a nation or state, the body politic; a state, an independent community especially viewed as a body in which the whole people have a voice or an interest." In later senses it is either: (a) the name of the Cromwellian institution; or (b) a state in which the supreme power is vested in the people; a republic or democratic state. Figuratively, the orators use the word as they please. Burke, for example, defended the application of it to the aggregate of European nations, saying that they were "virtually one great state having the same basis of general law; with some diversity of provincial customs and local establishments." For present purposes, views of that rhetorical sort may be disregarded. We are interested only in the political employment of the word, and in language somewhat more accurate than that Europe was "virtually one great state".

To what may be gathered as above from the *Oxford dictionary*, we may add a quotation from Mr. Lionel Curtis (*The project of a commonwealth*) who did what he could to make a commonwealth out of the empire (italics now added):

The question, then, which still awaits its solution is, how they (Canadians, etc.) are to assume a genuine responsibility for the first, last and greatest of all public interests, those which determine the issues of peace and war. Short of that final responsibility, the growth of self-government can no more be stayed in the Dominions than it could be in Britain or in the United States; and until that final responsibility is shared between all the peoples of the self-governing Dominions with those of the United Kingdom, *this Empire will remain what it has been, since its first colonies were planted in Ireland, not a commonwealth, but the project of a commonwealth*, which must be completed if it is not to be brought to an end.

That to Mr. Curtis was very clear, as it must be to everyone, for, as he added, a commonwealth "is a state in which government rests on the shoulders of all its citizens who are fit for government".

These quotations make certain that the phrase British Commonwealth of Nations cannot be applied to the British Empire. Prior to the passage of the Statute of Westminster, "the supreme power" was vested in but (roughly) one-tenth of the people of the empire, the fraction residing in islands of less than 100,000 square miles, and the mass inhabiting areas scattered over the world, aggregating nearly 1,000,000 square miles. The secession of the dominions varied greatly the respective areas, but left the disproportion between governors and governed almost as marked as before. The British Empire was, and what remains of it continues to be, an empire.

So much for the employment of British Commonwealth of Nations as an alternative for British Empire, and if we ask whether the phrase cannot be applied to some other political association between the six kingdoms, the sufficient reply is that no other association exists. When engaged in discussing and formulating their relations, they have been accustomed to meet from time to time in conferences; but these have resulted in the dissolution, to some extent, of the old political organism, not in the creation of a new one. Assertion to the contrary may well be met by asking for the production of any new constitution. Where is its parliament or executive? Where is there a single room in which a single official of it functions?

All that being indisputably clear, it is very remarkable that men accustomed to political phraseology could have readily adopted the title British Commonwealth of Nations, but not so remarkable that, adopting it, they should differ widely as to what it was. Let us look at some of its varied applications. As far as the present writer is aware it was introduced by Lord Rosebery, that master of "gorgeous rhetoric", who said in the course of a speech in Australia in 1884: "There is no need for any nation, however great, leaving the Empire, because the Empire is a commonwealth of nations."

The necessity for the formulation of some new phrase or phrases was suggested in 1908 by Lord Milner, who after pointing out that the British dominions included "two widely different and indeed contrasted types of states"—the self-governing communities and the crown colonies—said:

We must continue to have one name for the whole, and the only available name is "Empire", however much we may feel that as regards one of the two great divisions it is a misnomer, and a rather mischievous misnomer. But that being the case, it is certainly very unlucky that we have no convenient subtitles for the two groups, because in the absence of such distinctions it is hardly possible to make any general statement at all about the British Empire, except that it is the British Empire, which is not radically false about one half of it.

About the same time, Mr. Lionel Curtis and Mr. Philip Kerr (now the Marquis of Lothian) were engaged in a brilliant, although finally abandoned, effort to change the British Empire into a British Commonwealth, giving to the substituted words the meaning above indicated. It may be that these gentlemen are responsible for the popularity of the word commonwealth, with a connotation that they did not intend.

It was probably because of dislike of the word empire that the Imperial War Conference of 1917 declared that "the readjustment of the constitutional relations of the component parliaments of the Empire . . . should be based upon a full recognition of the Dominions as autonomous nations of an Imperial Commonwealth." Palpable antagonism between the adjective and the noun was evidently regarded as merely captious. What precisely was meant, if anything, is matter for speculation. In a memorandum circulated by Sir Robert Borden at the peace conference (1919), the following appeared:

The Dominion Prime Ministers, after careful consideration, have reached the conclusion that all the treaties and conventions resulting from the Peace Conference should be so drafted as to enable the Dominions to become Parties and Signatories thereto. This procedure will give suitable recognition to the part played at the Peace Table by the British Commonwealth as a whole and will at the same time record the status attained there by the Dominions.

In this document, British Commonwealth, no doubt, meant the British Empire. Mr. A. Lawrence Lowell, the president of Harvard University, has employed the word commonwealth in that sense; and so has Sir Robert Borden, cautiously adding, however, "if such a designation can properly be applied to its system of government".

Professor Zimmern has said bluntly that "the British Empire has now become the British Commonwealth of Nations".

Professor H. Duncan Hall (of Australia, Oxford, and the United States) assigned to the two words a mathematical proportion somewhat difficult of conversational application. In a pamphlet to which Mr. A. Lawrence Lowell and he contributed, he employed commonwealth as equivalent to the *British Empire*. "The British Commonwealth", he said, "had broadened down from precedent to precedent", and in his book, *The British Commonwealth of Nations*, the word usually has the same connotation. But he distinguished between the two in this curious way:

The British Empire is still as regards population six-sevenths an Empire and only one-seventh a Commonwealth—that is, only one-seventh of its peoples (those in the United Kingdom and the self-governing Dominions) possess political self-government, the remaining six-sevenths being in various stages of dependence.

In an article in the *Contemporary review*, October, 1931, Professor Corbett, dean of the faculty of law at McGill University, employed the word commonwealth as the equivalent of empire. But in an address at Williamstown, he distinguished between them as follows:

The term "Commonwealth" is to be distinguished from the term "Empire." The British Commonwealth consists of Great Britain and the self-governing Dominions; the British Empire consists of Great Britain and the Crown Colonies and Protectorates.

Great Britain, it will be noted, does not carry her crown colonies and protectorates into the commonwealth. Professor Corbett does not explain how the separation was effected.

If some of the students had their way, the word empire would disappear altogether. Professor Chester Martin, of the University of Toronto, holds that what he calls "the second Empire" was transformed into the commonwealth:

Responsible government has since been conceded to a score of British provinces and Dominions, with results that have transformed the second Empire into the Commonwealth.

The slow but steady growth in the scope of responsible government has culminated in the Commonwealth as we know it to-day.

Responsible government has been the most dynamic achievement of Canadian politics, and the Commonwealth may fairly be said to have begun when the principles were conceded which made it inevitable.

So that since that time—say in the 1840's—there has been no empire. In a later passage in his book (*Empire and commonwealth*), Mr. Martin reached a conclusion not easily reconciled with this view, and indeed not easily understood. He said:

The Rt. Hon. Mr. Amery recently remarked that Great Britain and the other nations of the Commonwealth were all Dominions now. It would be equally true perhaps to say that all the Dominions (except the Irish Free State) are now Empires, in control of subordinate territories or mandates which have no immediate contacts whatever with each other. A Canadian "territory" has no organic contact with an Australian "territory" or with the British Gold Coast or with Kenya. Thus the British Empire, which still exists as an agglomeration of Empires, now associates only as a Commonwealth.

We have now six empires associating as a commonwealth—conduct unique in the history of empires. Let us pass on to Mr. Richard Jebb, the author of *The Imperial Conference*, who said:

"British Commonwealth of Nations" is a new term which has been officially adopted, since its appearance in the Irish "treaty", to denote the whole British Empire in its modern aspect as a group of autonomous States, including Britain with her remaining dependencies as one such.

Mr. Jebb might well have added that the phrase appears in the constitution of the Irish Free State, and that the British parliament

confirmed the constitution. It will be observed that in Mr. Jebb's view (differing in that respect from Dean Corbett's), Great Britain carries her crown colonies and protectorates with her into the commonwealth. Professor W. P. M. Kennedy, University of Toronto, reached the climax as follows:

The title "British Commonwealth of Nations" figures in a British Treaty, in a British Act. Why should it not be used of His Majesty, with the quiet disappearance of the word "Empire"? I know full well that "Empire" is quite a decent word if decently understood—but I want to eliminate sinister associations. The epithet "Imperial" must go as well; and the Imperial Conferences can well be named "Conference of the Britannic Nations".

In other words, the British Empire is to be given a name which the dictionaries forbid.

Now look at the famous declaration of the conference of 1926, said to have been drafted by Arthur Balfour. Great Britain and the dominions, it states,

are autonomous Communities within the British Empire, equal in status, in no way subordinate one to another in any aspect of their domestic or external affairs, though united by a common allegiance to the Crown, and freely associated as members of the British Commonwealth of Nations.

Note the following important deductions: (a) the "communities" include Great Britain as well as the dominions and presumably their respective dependencies; (b) the "communities" are "associated as members of the British Commonwealth of Nations"; (c) they are "within the British Empire"; (d) either the British Empire and the British Commonwealth are different names for the same entity, or there are two entities and the Commonwealth is "within the Empire". The statement is widely inaccurate; there is no such entity in existence as the British Commonwealth of Nations. If the two phrases are intended as alternative names for the one entity they contradict one another. On the other hand, to say that the commonwealth is within the empire—an entity within an entity—would be ridiculous. The United Kingdom is a sovereign state, and, if the dominions are its equal in status, they also are sovereign. But it is quite impossible that there can be two sovereign states "within" one empire. The meaning of the word empire precludes that.

The latest exponent of the meaning of the phrase under consideration is Sir Thomas Inskip, the British solicitor general, who, during the course of the debate on the bill which afterwards became the Statute of Westminster, said as follows:

My hon. and gallant friend is under a misconception about this matter, if he will allow me to say so. He wants to call what is rightly described as the British Commonwealth of Nations, the British Empire. The British Commonwealth of Nations is not the British Empire. If he will turn to the report of the Imperial Conference of 1926 he will find in language most carefully chosen and as accurate as it is inspiring, that the position of the Dominions is described in this way: "Their position of mutual relation may be readily defined. They are autonomous communities within the British Empire"—I am sure the hon. and gallant Member will be gratified to find the word "Empire" in the Report of the Imperial Conference—"equal in status and freely associated as members of the British Commonwealth of Nations."

The British Empire is a great and magnificent community, but it is not the same thing as the British Commonwealth of Nations, which is the accurate description of the autonomous Dominions which are generally included within that term. I hope that my hon. and gallant Friend will see that we intend no disrespect and wish for no forgetfulness of the British Empire, and that this Bill wishes to emphasize or describe accurately what is a part of the British Empire, namely, the Commonwealth of the self-governing Dominions.

In this, four declarations are noteworthy. First, that the declaration of the conference of 1926 described "the position of the Dominions". This is unpardonably inaccurate. Second, that the phrase British Commonwealth of Nations is "the accurate description of the autonomous Dominions"—the United Kingdom is not included in it. That is a new idea. Third, that there are two entities, the British Empire and the British Commonwealth of Nations. Fourth, that the commonwealth is "a part of the British Empire". There is an entity within an entity.

One of the recitals of the Statute of Westminster is as follows:

And whereas it is meet and proper to set out by way of preamble to this Act that, inasmuch as the Crown is the symbol of the Free association of the members of the British Commonwealth of Nations, and as they are united by a common allegiance to the Crown, it would be in accord with the established constitutional position of all the members of the Commonwealth in relation to one another that any alteration in the law touching the Succession to the Throne or the Royal Style and Titles shall hereafter require the assent as well of the Parliament of all the Dominions as of the Parliament of the United Kingdom.

As here employed, the British Commonwealth of Nations undoubtedly means the British Empire. But it need hardly be added that to change the British Empire into a commonwealth needs more than a phraseological error in the draughtsmanship of a statute.

It has been said that British Commonwealth of Nations is a convenient phrase. It is—for rhetoricians. If you wish to refer to the United Kingdom, Canada, and the others as a group, the phrase "the six kingdoms" is accurate as well as convenient. And if you desire to express the constitutional relation between them, the correct term is "personal union". If you insist upon employing the phrase British Commonwealth of Nations you ought to accompany it with a reconciliation of the views of Mr. Lionel Curtis, President Lowell, Professor Zimmern, Mr. Duncan Hall, Dean Corbett, Professor Chester Martin, Mr. Jebb, Professor Kennedy, and Sir Thomas Inskip.

THREE BRITISH EMPIRES

Of less importance but sufficiently irritating is the phantasy of three British Empires. One good student, as we have seen, paying some deference to indisputable fact, counted only two, asserting that the second empire became "transformed into the Commonwealth". Carrying the handicap more lightly, Mr. H. Duncan Hall affirmed as follows:

The colonizing and trading activities of the British peoples have resulted in the building up of three Empires. The first was destroyed by the Revolt of the American Colonies in 1776. The second was deliberately destroyed by the Mother Country, through the gradual application of the principle of Responsible Self-Government; and in its place has arisen a Commonwealth of autonomous self-governing States. The third Empire—India, Egypt and the Dependencies—is already in process of transformation.

The "revolt" reduced the area and population of the empire, but it surely did not destroy it. And, if changes in such respects may be said to mark the end of one empire and the commencement of another, why should not vast accretions produce the same effect—those of 1763, for example? Less excusable, if possible, is the assertion that "the second was deliberately destroyed by the Mother Country through the gradual application of the principle of Responsible Self-Government".

At another place, Mr. Hall phrased his triple conception in different form:

The British Commonwealth has now reached the third of the three great turning-points in its development. The first was the American Revolution, and the second the grant of a limited Responsible Government to Canada. The third is the problem created by the transformation of this limited responsible government into the unlimited responsible government, the equality of nationhood and of statehood, now claimed and practically secured by the Dominions.

The date of the commencement of the second empire is now ascertained. It was not, as previously asserted at the end of "the gradual application of the principle of responsible government". It was at "the grant of a limited Responsible Government to Canada"—either 1843 or 1848 as one may think. And the third empire is now not "India, Egypt and the Dependencies". It is nothing more substantial than a "problem". When ideation is running a dreamland riot, a horse may easily become a steel plow or anything else.

This idea of three British Empires being purely fanciful, Professor Zimmern, in his lectures on *The third British Empire*, felt himself to be at liberty to give it a different twist. The first empire, he held, terminated with the American Revolution.

After the disruption of 1776, however, the British Empire was given a second chance. Out of the remnants of its old dominion, in Canada, the West Indies, and elsewhere, and out of the pioneering work of nineteenth-century explorers, traders, and administrators, a new and second British Empire came into existence . . . This second British Empire reached the culmination of its power and of its development in the Great War.

Differing with Mr. Martin and Mr. Hall, he does not consider responsible government a factor in the birth of "this second British Empire". Mr. Zimmern adds:

And now a third British Empire has come into existence, new in its form, new in the conditions which it has to face within and without its borders, new even in its name. For the British Empire of 1914 has now become the British Commonwealth of Nations.

Mr. Martin told us that it was the second empire that had become the British Commonwealth of Nations. Nothing of importance can be said in warrant of either assertion.

Not to be outdone by Oxford, a Harvard professor, Mr. W. Y. Elliott, has given us a book under the title *The new British Empire*, from which the following may be culled as decidedly new:

But to counterbalance Russia, there is the democratic experiment, on an even larger scale, of transforming the British Empire from a centralized system, under either British hegemony or direct rule, into a League of Allied States [p. 1].

The future of the New Empire must be to a considerable degree dependent on the fate of the League and on the reality of international security [p. 10].

The enduring future of the New British Empire will depend on the success with which its own counter-reformation of imperialism can lay the spectres of nationalism and class war that still walk so openly abroad [p. 6].

Over a large range of its functions, then, the New Empire has adopted the machinery and the technique of a league of nations [p. 27].

The equal nations of the British Commonwealth, seven in number, form a confederation of nations for constitutional decisions or acts of policy which affect the basic security of its members or their status under the Crown. On the other hand, for all ordinary purposes including fiscal and economic policy, it is a league of kindred states, whose Crown is really a multiple legal personality worn by the same physical person, the King [p. 41].

For purposes of working out the constitutional basis of "free associations" and "equality of status" *the Imperial Conference, consequently, has become the constituent organ of a confederation, in fact if not in law* [italics as in book, p. 40].

The economic bases of the Empire though shaken are still very solid [p. 17].

It is therefore a rigid union of states only for purposes of security. It is a confederation only for mutual security and defense [p. 19].

The Dominions have had, since the War, to be carried along by persuasion to accept Foreign Office policy before England could act [p. 11].

The conception of a "new British Empire" based on assertions such as these is a mere figment of an unbridled imagination. Although varying from time to time in area and population and constitutional usage, it may safely be said that there has never been but one British Empire. In its history, there have been no terminations and no rebirths.

DOMINION OR KINGDOM

An early, if not the earliest, application of the word kingdom to a British colony is to be found in the document by which Charles I appointed William Claiborne secretary of state in "Our Kingdom of Virginia". That the king of the United Kingdom was also king of Canada was explicit in the Constitutional Acts of 1791 and 1840. The oath of allegiance prescribed by the former was in part as follows:

I, A. B., do sincerely promise and swear that I will be faithful and bear true allegiance to his Majesty, King George, as lawful Sovereign of the Kingdom of Great Britain, and of these Provinces, dependent on and belonging to the said Kingdom.

The form adopted in the Act of Union of 1840 was in part as follows:

I, A. B., do sincerely promise and swear that I will be faithful and bear true allegiance to her Majesty, Queen Victoria, as lawful Sovereign of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland,

and of this Province of Canada, dependent on and belonging to the said United Kingdom.

For some reason the form provided by the B.N.A. Act was reduced to the following:

I, A. B., do swear, That I will be faithful and bear true Allegiance to Her Majesty Queen Victoria.

Local legislation upon the subject commenced in Upper Canada in 1833 with 3 Wm. IV, c. 13, a statute which dispensed not only with the taking of existing oaths but with the sacrament, and substituted the form of oath which afterwards went into the Act of Union and which has been quoted above. The provisions of this statute of 1833 were applied to all Canada in 1850, by 13, 14 Vic., c. 18. In its present form, the oath runs as follows:

I, A. B., do sincerely promise and swear that I will be faithful and bear true allegiance to His Majesty King George V. as lawful Sovereign of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, of the British possessions beyond the seas, and of this Dominion of Canada, dependent on and belonging to the said Kingdom.

From the beginning, therefore, divisibility of the sovereign has been acknowledged by statute. George III was king of Great Britain, "*and of these Provinces*" *i.e.* of Upper and Lower Canada, just as George V is now king of the United Kingdom, "*and of this Province of Canada*". Canada has a king and ought therefore to be recognized as a kingdom.

In 1867, when in London arranging for the enactment of the British North America Act, Sir John A. Macdonald strongly urged that Canada's title should be "The Kingdom of Canada", and these words appeared in two of the official drafts of the bill. Why he failed is explained in a letter which he afterwards wrote to Lord Knutsford, a colonial secretary, under the date of July 18, 1889:

A great opportunity was lost in 1867, when the Dominion was formed out of the several provinces. This remarkable event in the history of the British Empire passed almost without notice. . . . The Union was treated by them [Duke of Buckingham, colonial secretary, and Lord Monck, governor-general of Canada] much as if the B.N.A. Act were a private Bill uniting two or three English parishes. Had a different course been pursued—for instance, had united Canada been declared to be an auxiliary Kingdom, as it was in the Canadian draft of the Bill—I feel sure (almost) that the Australian Colonies would, ere this, have been applying to be placed in the same rank as "The Kingdom of Canada".

In a postscript to the letter, Sir John added:

On reading the above over I see that it will convey the impression that the change of title from *Kingdom* to *Dominion* was caused by the Duke of Buckingham. This is not so. It was made at the instance of Lord Derby, then foreign minister, who feared the first name would wound the sensibilities of the Yankees. I mentioned this incident in our history to Lord Beaconsfield at Hughenden in 1879, who said "I was not aware of the circumstance, but it is so like Derby—a very good fellow, but who lives in a region of perpetual funk."

Not altogether beaten, Sir John urged that the title governor-general should be changed to viceroy. The place for that alteration would have been in the king's commission, and anticipating a new issue, Sir John wrote to the governor-general:

I believe that since India has come under the direct government of the Queen, Her Majesty's representative there is styled Viceroy and Governor General, and I am sure that it would be gratifying to the people of Canada if a similar rank were accorded to the Governors of the Dominion.

It was useless; Buckingham and Monck were still there. Sir John's desire was not the first of its kind. In 1838, a select committee of the House of Assembly of Upper Canada approved the project of a legislative union of all the provinces and they recommended "that the title of the person who may henceforth be appointed to the Government of these Colonies, should be that of 'Vice-Roy'". Prior to that, again, John Beverley Robinson, the ablest of the Upper Canada Tories, in a letter to Lord Bathurst, the colonial secretary, said that he wanted to see

a confederacy of provinces erected into a Kingdom and placed under the government of a Viceroy, the executive government and local legislatures of the different provinces remaining as they are, except that the functions of the latter would be necessarily confined to objects purely local.

Another "great opportunity was lost" in 1931 when the British parliament enacted the Statute of Westminster, of which, also, it may be said that "this remarkable event in the history of the British Empire passed almost without notice", much as if it were "a private bill uniting two or three English parishes". Of its reduction of the area of the British Empire from one-fourth to less than one-twelfth of the land surface of the world, and of its advancement of the dominions to the rank of kingdoms not a word was spoken in the course of the British parliamentary debates. And throughout the succeeding session in Canada, no speaker referred to the subject. Sir John A. Macdonald was

dead, and among the party leaders there was none like him. If he could not have succeeded in 1931 in a renewed attempt to give to Canada her proper title, it is certain that had he been prime minister of his country, the Statute of Westminster would not have had in it the following clause:

In this Act the expression "Dominion" means any of the following Dominions, that is to say, the Dominion of Canada, the Commonwealth of Australia, the Dominion of New Zealand, the Union of South Africa, the Irish Free State and Newfoundland.

As the realities of the situation come to be understood "dominion" must give place to "kingdom". A beginning has already been made. Instead of the United Kingdom and its co-equals being called the British Commonwealth of Nations, they are, when grouped, sometimes spoken of as the six kingdoms. In the *Round table* of March, 1932, was the following:

The disappearance of the British government and parliament from the relationship existing between the King and the other governments and parliaments has, as Mr. McGilligan recently stated, transformed the commonwealth into a group of six kingdoms. The transformation has, in fact, strengthened the prestige of the monarchy inasmuch as the King, instead of being separated from the dominion governments by the British government, is now directly advised by the Former in their own affairs, and the King, by rejecting all advice except that of the government concerned, has, in a sense, become the guarantor and the symbol of the independence of the different nations of the commonwealth. It is, in fact, difficult to see what further constitutional questions remain for future Imperial conferences to discuss without mutual interference and annoyance.

Here are three things difficult to realize: (a) that the British government and parliament have disappeared from the relationship between the king and Canada; (b) that with reference to Canadian affairs, the king is now directly advised by his Canadian ministers—that he rejects all other advice; (c) that by so doing the king has, in a sense, become the guarantor and symbol of the independence of Canada. The king, the guarantor of our independence! How true! But what a change! Till recently our ministers could not even advise him directly. "Dominion" is not a fitting appellation for an independent state.

JOHN S. EWART

THE VIEWS AND INFLUENCE OF JOHN S. EWART

IN the article "False political phrases" we have a characteristic exemplification of the late John S. Ewart's method of discussion and of the strength and weakness of this method. His friends, who find it hard to be reconciled to the fact that his voice has now fallen silent, will derive a melancholy satisfaction from the evidence which it affords that he retained to the end the willingness and the power to battle for his views.

Upon more than one ground Mr. Ewart was annoyed by looseness of phraseology. He had a tidy, legal mind and a passion for exactitude in statement. In the first address in which he set out his views upon the relationship that should exist between Canada and the empire—to the Canadian Club of Toronto in 1904—he demanded, repeatedly, that those who were not in agreement with him should "define" their terms in order that controversy might proceed in orderly fashion. "Once more", he exclaimed at the close of his address, "I ask for definition; this is one of my fads." In his reading of history Mr. Ewart must often have been depressed by the inaccuracies and absurdities of political nomenclature: as, for instance, by the term "Holy Roman Empire" which was said humorously to be a quite exact designation, subject to the qualification that the political structure to which it was applied was not "Holy", nor "Roman", nor an "Empire". Mr. Ewart was resolute that, so far as he could influence the result, there would be no such sloppiness in the terminology covering Canada's position. In particular he devoted his energies to combating the use of three terms: "dominion", "within the empire", and "British Commonwealth of Nations"—being perhaps especially hostile to the last, as representing, in his opinion, a gratuitous attempt to get rid of an inaccuracy for which there was historic justification by substituting for it a term still more inaccurate. He objected to the existing terms as being inexact or obsolete; and the new words or the revival of old terms to meet new developments seemed to him an attempt wantonly to perpetuate the inexactitude.

Mr. Ewart believed in the power of words to influence opinions; misuse a key word and it would warp and influence thinking—such was his theory. In one of his articles he quotes, with approval, a saying by Bacon: "Words still manifestly force the

understanding, throw everything in confusion and lead mankind into vain and innumerable controversies and fallacies." Here we have the explanation of Mr. Ewart's ultra-punctiliousness (as it seemed to many of his friends including the writer) in the use of terms. It was not until he was well on in life that he began to expound his doctrine of Canadian sovereignty and independence. He must previously have studied and brooded over the question for years; because he entered the discussion with his mind fully made up as to what was requisite. There is no difference in view between his lecture on *The kingdom of Canada* delivered in 1904 and his last article, herewith under review; and in the interval he maintained a perfect consistency (save for one brief period when, exasperated by what he regarded as a combination of sinister influences formed to force Canada into closer imperial relationships, he recommended the proclamation of "the Republic of Canada"). He conceived Canada's rightful position as that of a kingdom with all the attributes of sovereignty. The king of Great Britain and its dependencies was also king of Canada; but it was not a case of a common crown. It was to be personal union of two crowns with a complete severance of joint responsibilities and loyalties unless these were the result of treaties and alliances entered into formally. This, according to Mr. Ewart's reading of the documents, had been the purpose of Sir John Macdonald at the time of Confederation, which he had been prevented from carrying through by the timidities of British statesmen. It was Mr. Ewart's view that effect should be given, without limitation as to power or postponement as to time, to the project which Macdonald had, somewhat nebulously, in mind. In his 1904 address he said:

We want our position acknowledged, [not merely by individual British statesmen but officially by the British Parliament. If we have ceased to be a colony, we want to drop the word. If we are really a kingdom we want that title as our designation. . . . Are we a nation? If so, let us say it officially as well as unofficially?

Holding these views Mr. Ewart found the word "dominion" totally inappropriate. Blackstone, he pointed out, had said:

A country conquered by the British arms becomes a Dominion of the King in the right of his crown and therefore necessarily subject to the legislation of the Parliament of Great Britain.

To accept the word "dominion" was, therefore, in Mr. Ewart's judgment, to accept the status of subordination. Away with it!

"Empire" was to him the correct definition of the relation of

Great Britain with her dependencies and the dominions that did not aspire to be kingdoms; but Canada necessarily stood outside. He could understand people who believed in subordination saying that Canada was part of the empire; but he was puzzled and a little indignant when those who were in general agreement with his view as to the proper status of Canada proceeded to speak of nationhood within the empire. This to him was an absurdity—a palpable contradiction in terms. To accept it, or to use it as a makeshift in the absence of some term with a more precise signification, was to compromise with the need, never absent from his mind, of a definition which would recognize Canada as “a political community without a political superior” in Lincoln’s phrase.

Having carried on for some fourteen years a campaign, with growing effectiveness, against the use of the terms dominion and “within the empire”, Mr. Ewart was much disconcerted when, to meet the inadequacy of the term empire to which Lord Milner had drawn attention as early as 1908, the word commonwealth was put forward. The name seemed justified as conveying a more accurate conception of what the empire was changing into as the result of the growing disinclination of the various dominions to continue as subordinate communities. The use of the word, in the sense in which it is now being largely employed, dates from 1917. In the declaration of the Imperial War Conference of that year the dominions are referred to as “autonomous nations of an Imperial Commonwealth”. In an address at a banquet given in his honour by the members of parliament on May 15, 1917 (included in his *War time speeches* under the title “The British Commonwealth of Nations”) General Smuts gave the term the precise connotation which those who use the phrase approvingly wish it to have. He said:

We are not a state but a community of states and nations. . . .
We are a system of states and not a stationary system but a dynamic evolving system, always going forward to new destinies. . . . This community of nations which I prefer to call “the British Commonwealth of Nations”. . . .

Commonwealth is a word which has wide associations with political ideas and systems of government. In its widest application it means a community of peoples or of interests without organic unity but conforming to a general scheme of society. It is in that sense that Burke uses it in his *Letters on a regicide peace*. In addition to the quotation which Mr. Ewart gives (in order to reject its validity) Burke refers in these letters to the “Great

Commonwealth of Christendom". "Commonwealths", he also says, "are not physical but moral essences." At the other end of the range of application, commonwealth is simply a title for the sovereign state—whether monarchical or republican. It was quite freely employed before the Cromwellian period by English writers, notably Shakespeare, as a synonym for the kingly state of England and for the community of interests and loyalties which made the state possible. "A commonwealth", wrote Sir Thomas Smith in 1584, "is a society or common doing of a multitude of free men collected together and united by common accord and covenants among themselves." In the first act of *Henry V*, the archbishop of Canterbury says:

Hear him debate of Commonwealth affairs.
You would say it has been all in all his study.

It was the telling use of this passage by a speaker in the Australian convention that led to the adoption of the title commonwealth for the Australian federation. The employment of this word by the rebel parliament of England in the seventeenth century identified it, in the public mind, for a long period of time, with a republican form of government; but it did not in the least modify its meaning as a title for a state under a single system of government. Indeed the commonwealth established by the Long Parliament was a unitary state which included England and all the British possessions outlying and overseas. In the enactment of May 19, 1649, abolishing the monarchy, it was declared:

That the People of England and of all the Dominions and Territories thereunto belonging are, and shall be, and are hereby constituted, made, established and confirmed to be a Commonwealth and Free State: and shall henceforth be governed as a Commonwealth and Free State by the Supreme Authority of this nation, the representative of the people in Parliament. . . .

Here we have commonwealth as a definition of a centralized state, including widely separated areas, under the control of a single parliament. This was the only connotation of the word which Mr. Ewart recognized. He therefore rejected it outright as suitable for application to the new political system which, by 1917, was in the making. In this he was at odds with many who, although in general agreement with his views, welcomed the word and gave it currency. Those who, during the years of controversy, favoured the continuance of the centralized state clung to the term empire and treated commonwealth with disdain as implying separatist intentions. But to most of those who desired

a transformation of the empire into a brotherhood of states the word was acceptable because, inasmuch as it had been used down the centuries with a wide variety of meanings, it was believed that, given time, it could be invested with an import which would meet the requirements of the situation. Obviously some suitable name for the family of British nations was required. The idea which the name must convey to the mind receiving it was that of a brotherhood of nations, each self-governing and independent to precisely the same degree. Mr. Ewart's belief was that the title, by virtue of past associations and implications, would, if put to general use, predispose those using it to acceptance of the view that the British nations should constitute a unitary state with common organs of government. Against this was the faith of those who held that events would fix the term in its desired setting. In 1921, in a newspaper article reprinted under the title "The subsidiary conference 1921", Mr. Ewart made merry with the inadequacies of the term:

A commonwealth is not a combination of states. Two states under the same king are not one state; and they are not, therefore, one commonwealth. Nobody would venture to speak of a commonwealth of commonwealths; nor of a state of states; nor of a nation of nations. . . . Nobody can imagine such an impossibility as a state of states or a cat of cats. The British Commonwealth of Nations is really nothing but a phrase—a very foolish phrase.

In the years which have seen the empire evolve into an equal brotherhood of nations and the legislative authority of the parliament of Great Britain over the dominions disappear, the word commonwealth has come into very general use. It has been adopted by the British nations, assembled in conference, and it has been recognized in international documents. In all these uses it is accepted as the title for an association of British countries which do not constitute a unitary state with a common central government. Because it is thus accepted it is supplanting the term British Empire which is indissolubly linked with a scheme of government which has lapsed. But Mr. Ewart, staunch to the last, declined to agree that the word had, or could be endowed with, any meaning beyond that which he gave it in 1921: it remained for him a "false political phrase, inaccurate, confusing and damaging".

Those who employ the word commonwealth in the sense here indicated must, however, admit that Mr. Ewart, with his very precise views as to the relationship that should exist between the

British nations, could not have accepted the term, even with the change in its content of meaning, as a definition of his attitude. Mr. Ewart had his own preferred title for the assembly of British countries: "the six kingdoms". In this term he avowed his conviction that the old British Empire, by a series of developments ending with the Westminster Act, had been divided into six completely separate parts with the same king, but with six distinct crowns. The constitutional relation between them, in his view, was that of a personal union; with the disappearance of political subordination there had also gone the last vestige of moral and constitutional unity. Here, in fact, Mr. Ewart stood where he did in 1904. Then he claimed for Canada the position of a kingdom independent of the empire to which the rest of the British nations belonged; by 1932 all that had changed was that the other dominions had also developed into kingdoms thus bringing the empire—as a term inclusive of the dominions—to an end. The term commonwealth, to most of those to whom its use is acceptable, does not connote a relationship between the parts of what was once an empire as formal, rigid, detached, and self-regarding as this. The empire of centralized power and dependent dominions has indeed gone: but the six kingdoms and personal union have not arrived and are not likely to arrive. This indeterminate relationship, which excludes control but recognizes undefined common functions which differentiate the family of British nations from any possible combination of separate countries in alliance is well expressed by the word commonwealth with its suggestion of an inescapable if not easily definable community of responsibility. In Professor Keith's phrase, the association of these countries is a "unity of a new kind; a commonwealth rather than a confederation".

The character of the contribution—in its strength and its weakness, its extent and its limitations—made by Mr. Ewart towards the movement which brought about the enfranchisement of Canada as a nation is well illustrated by his attitude towards this matter of nomenclature. He made the most valuable and effective contribution to the discussion of the question; but discussion alone would never have effected the transformation. Factors of tactics and strategy were of prime importance; and here Mr. Ewart was not very helpful owing to his insistence upon the whole distance being covered in a stride. Anything short of this, any definition, or phrase, or acceptance of minor change was likely to be regarded doubtfully by him. An official demand upon

Great Britain by Canada in 1904 for recognition as an independent kingdom was not only unattainable but unthinkable; there had to be between this demand made by Mr. Ewart in 1904 and its achievement by the enactment of the Statute of Westminster in 1931 all kinds of makeshifts, make-believes, and gradual adjustments. Mr. Ewart had little faith in the strategy which in the long run proved successful—the series of flanking operations in the form of constitutional innovations and expedients which finally turned the defenders of the old order out of the seemingly impregnable citadel. For instance, the constitutional events of 1917, which in their results proved to be a most effective flanking operation, filled him with alarm; he could only see the danger of Canada being entangled “in the meshes of imperialistic projects” by the close association of the Canadian government with the British government. The prospect of equal status with other British states by union through the same king had in his opinion passed by reason of these entanglements; hence his declaration, already mentioned, of preference for a republic. A still more effective flanking operation was Canada’s participation in the Peace Conference and membership in the League of Nations; but in a series of articles contributed in 1919 to two Canadian publications, now defunct, the *Canadian nation* and the *Statesman*, Mr. Ewart expressed his fears that Canada’s position had been compromised by what occurred at Paris. The claim that Canada had risen to nationhood at Paris was said by him to be nonsense; the imperialists, by creating the illusion of Canada’s advance in status, had instead filched from Canada her freedom of refusing to participate in foreign wars. “Their tactics have been successful. Canada’s liberty is gone.” It was idle, he asserted, to talk about nationhood until Canada assumed full sovereignty and claimed rights denied her.

These incidents and examples indicate the tactical defects of Mr. Ewart’s contribution, but they illustrate the uncompromising intellectual integrity of the man. Nor do they in the least derogate from the honour which is due him as one of the prime agents in a great work of national reconstruction. His part was that of unflinching advocacy that compelled attention and created a public opinion that obliged action; had his contribution in this respect been less effective, the constitutional development with which his name must always be associated would have moved at a much slower pace; and might still be in its earlier stages.

J. W. DAFOE

CONFEDERATION IN PRINCE EDWARD ISLAND¹

I

THE idea of Confederation was not conceived in Prince Edward Island nor did it receive any serious consideration there prior to 1864. Canada's effort, in 1858, to arrange a convention on federal union, through the colonial secretary, was dismissed by the Assembly of 1859, in the resolution that it involved "interests of too extensive and important a character to admit of a discussion in the present session of the Legislature". The sessions of 1859-62 were dominated by the Bible question, the Elective Legislative Council Bill, and the Land Commission. In 1863, the correspondence of Nova Scotia and the Duke of Newcastle, as to the best way of originating a consideration of the advantages and disadvantages of union, was discussed; but the discussion was half-hearted.

The appointment of delegates to a conference on Maritime union, in 1864, awakened for the first time a deep and widespread interest in the island. This conference, originated by Nova Scotia and supported promptly by New Brunswick, was called "for the purpose of *arranging a preliminary plan* for the union of the three Provinces under one government and legislature, such union to take effect when confirmed by the legislative enactment of the various Provinces interested, and approved by Her Majesty the Queen". In appointing these delegates, the legislature of Prince Edward Island revealed its fundamental objections to union in any form; but it regarded a federal union as the lesser of two evils.

Though almost every member of the Assembly spoke in this debate, the most effective speech was made by the speaker, the Hon. T. Heath Haviland, jr. He said, in part:

The question at issue is briefly, whether we are to have a Legislature of our own or whether we shall be absorbed by union with Nova Scotia and New Brunswick . . . The statistics of the Island show that without the public lands which they possess, without the Imperial expenditure for naval and military purposes, which have been so abundantly, nay lavishly, disbursed in Nova Scotia and

¹This article is based entirely upon source material read in the Public Archives of Canada and the Public Archives of Nova Scotia: correspondence between the local government and the Colonial Office, between local statesmen and statesmen of the other colonies, journals of the Assembly and Council, debates in the Assembly and Council, contemporary newspapers. Exact quotations have been given only where they have appeared to express pointedly a characteristic attitude or an impelling idea.

New Brunswick, we have thriven and advanced in material prosperity, as did the old 13 colonies, by our own unaided resources. The very first result of a union with those provinces would be a uniform tariff; and, while we hear complaints of our present scale of duties, let it be remembered that in the neighbouring colonies, the people are taxed more heavily. In view of all these facts, I repeat the question, what are we to gain by union?

After alluding to the heavier debt of Canada, as an objection to union with it, and to the unions of Scotland and Ireland with England, as illustrations of the danger to be feared by the smaller members of a partnership, he concluded with an eloquent expression of conservative imperialism and local patriotism:

The argument that we shall be materially benefitted by forming part of a country which will count its population by millions finds no acquiescence in my mind, when I reflect on what Tell achieved for Switzerland, against the most powerful nation of his time, and that Greece, under the protection of the leading nations of Europe, has maintained her separate nationality. While the Mother Country remains true to her traditions, are we to be coerced by threats of the stars and stripes of the northern states? I have no fear that the aegis under which we have hitherto prospered will be withdrawn or that "the meteor flag of England" will be replaced in these colonies by that of the United States.

Curiously enough, sentimental arguments, rather than economic or fiscal, dominated these debates. It is true that Nicholas Conroy combined both sentimental and economic factors in one question: "What can the other colonies give us in return for the loss of our Legislature? If they could give us free land; but they cannot." On the whole, sentimental attachment to the local legislature and confidence in the protecting power of the mother country were the feelings that animated the opponents of union in 1864, while the Hon. J. H. Gray and the Hon. W. H. Pope, the only two convinced advocates of union, supported the movement by the arguments with which all students of Confederation have become quite familiar; the absolute necessity of a united front against the United States, the advisability of establishing a uniform tariff, a uniform currency, a common legislature and a common judiciary, and the advantage of opening a wider career to the talent of all the colonies. It is significant that only by agreeing that the delegates should be restricted to a discussion of the *expediency* of union could their appointment be secured; and, even then, the resolution was carried by a vote of only eighteen to nine.

It will be remembered that this conference met in Charlottetown, on September 1, 1864. On the second, the Canadian delegates were admitted. During the next five days, the possibility of a conference on the wider union was discussed; and, on the seventh, the conference adjourned to meet in Halifax on the tenth. At Halifax, it sat two days and adjourned to meet in St. John; but, before adjournment, John A. Macdonald announced that the delegates would be invited to Quebec. The conference met in St. John, on the sixteenth, when it decided to adjourn until after the conference in Quebec. It reassembled, in Toronto, on November 3, and resolved that, in view of the resolutions passed at Quebec, it would "postpone the consideration of the question of a Legislative union of the Maritime Provinces".

Thus, it is seen that the subject of Maritime union was never seriously discussed in the one conference that had been called to consider it; that the minor union was immediately overshadowed by the major one; and that, however much the discussions of 1864 in the legislature of Prince Edward Island had seemed to be purely academic, they all told ultimately on the attitude of the people and their representatives towards Confederation.

II

Prince Edward Island was represented at the Quebec Conference by seven delegates, chosen from both branches of the legislature and from both political parties: the Hon. J. H. Gray, premier; the Hon. Edward Palmer, attorney-general; the Hon. W. H. Pope, colonial secretary; the Hon. T. Heath Haviland, jr.; the Hon. A. A. Macdonald; the Hon. George Coles; and the Hon. Edward Whelan. At the conference, these delegates were not always in accord; and, on their return to the island, they did not all support the Quebec Resolutions. Even the delegates from the party in power were not united; and of these only Gray and Pope had supported Confederation consistently. Differences of opinion, both personal and political, culminated in the resignation of Gray and Palmer from the Executive Council, and in the appointment of James Collidge Pope as premier. It was, therefore, a government divided against itself that met the legislature in 1865; and it transpired that the motion in favour of Confederation was moved by the colonial secretary, while an amendment in opposition was moved by his brother, the premier.

On March 24, 1865, a series of eight resolutions was presented

to the Assembly, by W. H. Pope and seconded by ex-Premier Gray. The first five of these resolutions approved the federal principle; referred to the necessity of union, in view of the immense military and naval forces of the United States; acquiesced in the hope of improved trade and commerce; and expressed the belief that the Quebec Resolutions contained "a declaration of principles—as the basis of a federal union—which the House considers just to the several provinces and colonies". The sixth ordered the Quebec Resolutions to be published for consideration by the people. But the seventh and eighth revealed a state of hopeless indecision and transparent evasion. They asserted that, until the larger colonies had mutually agreed upon terms of union, it was inexpedient to call upon the people of the island to decide the question; but that, in the event of such an agreement being reached, the issue should be submitted to the electorate forthwith.

Notwithstanding the friendship that Gray had formed with John A. Macdonald and the similarity between the arguments used by both in supporting the movement, there is no evidence that he wished to carry the measure *per saltum*. In fact he wrote to Macdonald admitting that the anti-confederates were right in their assertion that the island would lose \$55,000 a year, by surrendering its claims to the increased custom's duties that would be levied. On the other hand, Pope wrote to Macdonald urging him to get the imperial government to coerce Prince Edward Island, although, in moving the resolutions, he declared that the members of the government with two exceptions were hostile to them and that not more than four or five members of the Assembly would vote for them. In the *Islander* of December 30, 1864, he had already expressed his conviction that the people of the province were against union. He alone was willing to over-ride public opinion, perhaps because it had turned against him for fomenting religious strife and for alleged profiteering in the transfer of the Worrell estate to the government.

However, if the supporters of the Quebec Resolutions in 1865 were few and half-hearted, the anti-confederates were not. Premier J. C. Pope, seconded by the Hon. A. Laird, moved in amendment, a series of four long resolutions, which left no doubt as to their meaning and incorporated the entire anti-confederate case.

These resolutions asserted that union with Canada would derange the markets of the island and compel its people to take manufactures from Canada, to which they could sell nothing in return; while, at the same time, the increased duties against

Britain and the United States would diminish their intercourse with these countries, thus proving most injurious to their agricultural, fishing, and commercial interests; that, owing to the lack of crown lands, minerals, or other resources in the island, to attract immigrants, and to the effects of interrupted communication upon the future development of manufactures, its population must continue to decrease in relation to that of Canada, a fact which made insistence upon the principle of representation by population unfair to the island; that, in view of the old imperial error of granting the crown lands to absentee proprietors, which deprived the island of one source of revenue from the beginning, and, in view of its insular position, which would deprive it of a share in federal expenditure for such public works as railways, for which in other provinces the island would help to pay, the financial terms of the Quebec Resolutions were unsatisfactory; and that the island could not see the advantage of uniting with Canada, for the purpose of defence, upon terms otherwise unjust, nor of sacrificing its commercial and financial interests to secure the military co-operation of Canada, in exchange for the powerful aid of Great Britain. Finally the resolutions declared opposition on the part of Prince Edward Island to a union, which "would prove politically, commercially, and financially disastrous to the rights and interests of its people".

After a full and keen debate, the amendment was carried by a vote of twenty-three to five; and an address embodying the arguments for the amendment was forwarded to the queen on April 3, 1865.

Although the amendment gave good reasons for opposition to the Quebec Resolutions, it was drafted more with an eye to outside than to local opinion. In fact local opinion had already been formed and was adverse to the movement for Confederation. The debates on both motions still stressed the sentimental aspects of the question: representation by population, representation in the senate, fear of Canadian politicians and of the ultimate loss, by the island, of all political influence. The Hon. James Warburton opposed a "union of the lion and the lamb" because "we would be devoured by the Canadians". George W. Howlan preferred the constitution of the senate of the United States; and quoted Galt's statement, in the Canadian legislature, that the union was "a great measure brought down for the purpose of relieving Canada from distress and depression". But he also pointed to a defect in the Quebec Resolutions that later was to have much significance.

The first object of our delegates "ought to have been to get a settlement of our Land Question, the only question which is a grievance in the Colony, and then they might have come with some show of reason and asked us to go into Confederation". Frederick de St. Croix Brecken also preferred an upper house constituted as the United States senate; and feared that Confederation would leave nothing for the local legislature to do. The Hon. Joseph Hensley thought "we would be entirely swamped if we cast in our lot with Canada"; and he could not see the attraction of this proposal, when he remembered that "we are part and parcel of the great British Empire".

Thus the debate went on to its foregone conclusion; and, in 1865, by the unanimous vote of its Legislative Council and the almost unanimous vote of its Assembly, Prince Edward Island embarked upon that policy of "splendid isolation" which she was destined to maintain for eight years.

III

The session of 1865 was the last in which Prince Edward Island was allowed to debate the question of Confederation in a more or less academic manner, freely and without inhibition. Henceforth, influences, Maritime, Canadian, and imperial, were exerted upon it, which led to a nice calculation of interests and ultimately induced local patriotism to yield to economic necessity—but not before a shrewd bargain had been struck between the island's statesmen and the government of the new dominion.

The first in the field of influence was the imperial government, which, by 1864, had definitely decided to support Confederation, particularly on account of the problem of defense. On February 18, 1865, Cardwell informed Dundas that the imperial government would discontinue to pay the salary of the lieutenant-governor "in a very short time". As soon as he heard of the island's rejection of the Quebec Resolutions and also of Tupper's tactical move for renewing negotiation on Maritime union, he wrote Dundas, on June 24, 1865, asking him to express to the local legislature "the strong and deliberate opinion of Her Majesty's Government that it is an object much to be desired that all the British North American Colonies should agree to unite in one government". After enumerating the obvious mutual advantages to the colonies themselves, he added the following pointed paragraph on defense:

But there is one consideration which Her Majesty's Government feel it more especially their duty to press upon the Legislature of Prince Edward Island. Looking to the determination which this country has ever exhibited to regard the defence of the Colonies as a matter of Imperial concern, the Colonies must recognize a right and even acknowledge an obligation incumbent on the Home government to urge with earnestness and just authority, the measures which they consider to be most expedient on the part of the Colonies with a view to their own defence. Nor can it be doubtful that the Provinces of British North America are incapable, when separate and divided from each other, of making those just and sufficient preparations for national defence, which would be easily undertaken by a Province uniting in itself all the population and all the resources of the whole.

The first despatch led to an address from both Houses of the legislature, which claimed that the imperial government had continued to pay the salary of the lieutenant-governor in 1851, on the ground that there was practically no revenue from crown lands to be surrendered at that time in exchange for a civil list. But this address was to be without avail.

The despatch of June 24 led to a spirited debate in the session of 1866 and to the famous "no terms" resolutions of Premier James C. Pope. In introducing these resolutions Pope explained that the great reason why they protested against "anything in the shape of union" was their dread of "being swamped by Canada". They feared also that, if delegates were sent over to England, the hospitalities that had been pleaded by Palmer in extenuation of his speech in Toronto might operate more strongly in London and cause them to make commitments adverse to the views and interests of the island. The resolutions themselves were not only strongly worded against union but they asserted that the Assembly could not admit that "a federal union of the colonies, which would include Prince Edward Island, could *ever* be accomplished upon terms that would prove advantageous to the interests and well-being of the people of the Island".

In speaking of these resolutions, Brecken unconsciously enunciated the policy of the future. He said: "Our best policy would be to keep out until Canada, in her eagerness to include us in the union, should offer to treat with us on fairer terms; and then, should we find that we were suffering by keeping out, self-interest might induce us to accept the best terms we could get." But it was Emanuel McEachern, "whose ancestors—the Caledonians of old—beat back from their mountain fastnesses of liberty

the conquering eagles of Imperial Rome", who expressed most forcibly the islanders' objection to imperial pressure. "There was no reason", he said, "to fear that we should be driven into the projected Confederation. The people of Prince Edward Island had a constitution as well as Canada; and if they did their duty, they would never lose it. Mr. Cardwell would no doubt be glad if he found us willing to agree to go into the Union on the terms of the Quebec scheme; but if he found we were not willing; he would not dare to force us into it." Whelan and Haviland tried to amend the resolutions so as to diminish the note of finality; and Gray accused Pope of arrogating to himself two of the attributes of the deity—prescience and omniscience; but the "no terms" resolutions were carried twenty-one to seven. This vote is a fair representation of the island's opinion at the time. Though it led a number of gentlemen of Charlottetown, headed by the mayor, the Hon. T. Heath Haviland, to present a complimentary address to the *seven* and though it brought about the resignation of W. H. Pope from the Executive Council and the office of colonial secretary, it did not prevent the Hon. T. Heath Haviland, jr., son of the mayor, from accepting the latter office, vacated by Pope.

The next move was to come from the delegates of Nova Scotia and New Brunswick, who were in London awaiting the arrival of delegates from Canada. They pledged themselves to support the policy of providing an amount, not exceeding \$800,000, to purchase the proprietary rights in Prince Edward Island, on condition that the island should send delegates to the conference in London. This pledge reached the island accompanied by a minute of the Executive Council of Canada, which pointed out that Tupper and Tilley had no power to make such a pledge, but offered to discuss the matter fully in London and to make a strong representation "to the first parliament of the United Provinces in favor of granting the compensation agreed upon by them". When these guarded proposals were laid before the executive councillors of the island, they replied that the answer of Canada rendered any action on their part unnecessary. In these negotiations the Canadian government had kept strictly within its constitutional powers; but its insistence upon the letter of the law was not calculated to inspire confidence in the island's leaders.

As the negotiations in London proceeded to a conclusion the imperial government again tried moral suasion. Carnarvon wrote to Dundas, on January 19, 1867, reiterating the advantages of

union in both war and peace, praising Lower Canada warmly for its spirit of compromise, and expressing the earnest hope that no trifling obstacle would be allowed to prevent the island from sharing in the great benefits of union. He suggested that the despatch be communicated to the Council. When the despatch arrived, the island was in the throes of an election; and Dundas decided to publish it in the *Royal gazette*, in order that all who were likely to be guided by her majesty's government should be aware of its views on the subject. But the despatch bore no fruit. In his report of the elections, on February 26, 1867, Dundas admitted that, though the government had been defeated, it was not on the attitude towards Confederation, but because of its treatment of the Tenant League. In fact, only five members who were favourable to Confederation had contested seats and they were elected; but every candidate had been "pledged on the Hustings not to vote for any measure of Union, without referring it to his constituents".

As the policy of the new government was definitely opposed to Confederation, little difference was made in the local situation when Carnarvon sent a resolution of the Canadian and Maritime delegates in London to the effect that, if the island should wish hereafter to join the union, they would urge the government of the dominion to deal with the question of compensation for proprietary rights in the island, *in the most liberal spirit*. This resolution became the basis of "better terms" negotiations in 1869, but in the meantime the island was much flattered by a delegation from the United States on reciprocity.

IV

The Reciprocity Treaty had expired on March 17, 1866; and henceforth Americans were to be admitted to fish by licence only. The United States, in return, charged prohibitive duties on agricultural products and fish. As a result, the exports from the island to the United States had fallen from £120,928 in 1865 to £21,633 in 1866; and imports from £90,800 to £74,186. In the same period, imports from Canada, chiefly flour, had increased by £17,889; but the total exports to Canada were only £2,133. These statistics confirmed Prince Edward Island in its view that Canada offered no market for its products; and, at the same time, made it very sympathetic towards the proposed renewal of reciprocity between the island alone and the United States.

In the session of 1867-8, General B. F. Butler had submitted

a series of resolutions to Congress to admit the products of the island duty free, on condition of similar treatment for American products, and of liberal concessions to American fishermen. These resolutions had been referred to a committee of three, which was to visit the island and make a full report on its exports and imports and, also, on its authority to make an agreement with the United States by legislative enactment. Though the committee was not to incur any expense to the United States, it was permitted to travel in a revenue cutter. It consisted of General Butler, Massachusetts, Judge Poland, Vermont, and Mr. Beck, Kentucky; and it was accompanied by a number of other prominent men. It arrived in Charlottetown at the end of August, was cordially welcomed, and entertained at a *déjeuner*, on September 2, 1868.

Previous to its arrival, the Charlottetown Chamber of Commerce met in special session, presided over by ex-Premier J. C. Pope, and attended by Premier Coles and other members of the government. The resolutions of Butler were approved; and a committee was appointed to further the project.

Dundas was very much concerned, especially as the Executive Council presented a memorandum to him, in which it was urged that the granting of privileges to American fishermen should be left to the decision of the local government and legislature. He informed his Council that a colonial government had no authority to enter into an agreement with a foreign power; but, at the same time, he advised granting every facility to the delegation in its search for information. He then paid a hurried visit to Halifax; and was not in Charlottetown when the delegation arrived.

The committee, finding the lieutenant-governor absent, addressed itself to the Hon. Joseph Hensley, attorney-general and president of the Executive Council (owing to the illness of Coles). Hensley and other members of his government with members of the Chamber of Commerce, met the committee in a friendly spirit; and, while informing them that they had no authority to negotiate, left no doubt as to their eagerness to effect such an agreement.

At the *déjeuner* the American visitors displayed much tact in praising the island and in explaining their purpose as purely one of fostering "mutual interests", without thought of disturbing "the happy relations subsisting between the Colony and the Mother Country". Their only complaint against Queen Victoria was that she had done more than any other sovereign "to damage

Republicanism". Toasts to the queen, the lieutenant-governor, and the Councils alternated with toasts to the president, Congress, and the congressional committee. The common law of England stood alone as revered by both.

In this atmosphere, the islanders opened their hearts. Hensley said that they had been treated by the Congress of the United States almost as if they were a strong nation. Brecken could see no obstacle to the revival of reciprocity; and the Hon. Robt. P. Haythorne felt that the proposal had opened the eyes of the government to its vast importance. But the Hon. Edward Palmer went beyond all in support of the proposal and in assertion of the constitutional rights of the local legislature. He could not bring himself to believe that "an act authorizing Reciprocal Free Trade with the United States, duly passed by our Legislature and provided such act did not trench on the rights of our Sister Colonies, would fail to receive Royal allowance"; and "he trusted that the people of Prince Edward Island would not supinely lie down in despair".

The colonial secretary, like Dundas, was much exercised by this visit from the United States and by the fear that Prince Edward Island might have to be restrained from taking independent action. He wrote to Dundas, approving of his stand; and, after urging great caution in framing his speech to the legislature, advised him that it would not be prudent for the government and legislature of the island "to take any action in the matter". He regretted, also, that the discussion should have been allowed to assume the appearance of a negotiation between a colonial government and the delegates of a foreign representative body; and he suggested that the island's government had exceeded its proper authority. He added that her majesty's government would take no action in response to the report of the local Executive Council, but that, if an opportunity occurred for a general arrangement with the United States, he would bear their suggestions in mind.

To this despatch the Assembly replied in the session of 1869. It indicated that it was well aware that it had no power to negotiate with the United States but that it was none the less eager to secure commercial intercourse with that country; and it expressed the hope that her majesty's government would adopt measures to get reciprocal free trade with the United States, "even if the same could not be secured for Her Majesty's other British North American colonies".

This reply of the Assembly practically closed the incident except that Administrator Hodgson was informed, in the following year, that in future all communications of a diplomatic character between the United States government and the British North American provinces should pass through the hands of the governor-general of Canada—another hint to the island that the imperial government had thrown all its influence behind the project of completing Confederation.

But the island was still bent on independent action. In 1868, the Assembly had been restrained with difficulty from proposing a vote of sympathy with Nova Scotia in its struggle for repeal; and in the same year the Executive Council had declined to negotiate with anti-confederates from Nova Scotia for closer union between the two provinces. In 1869, the legislature assumed responsibility for the salary of its own lieutenant-governor, avowedly for the purpose of evading imperial pressure. In the same spirit, the government and legislature were to reject the "better terms", of 1869, offered by the Canadian government, with the warm approval of the colonial secretary.

V

In 1869, the Canadian parliament authorized the government to negotiate with Prince Edward Island once more. Accordingly, in August, Governor-General Young, accompanied by Cartier, Tilley, and Kenny, visited the island, held informal conversations with members of the government and other public men, and made a report, which became the basis of an offer of "better terms" in December.

These terms were better in that they comprised: "efficient steam communication between the Island and the mainland"; an annual subsidy of \$25,000 to meet the expenses of the local government; a sum of \$800,000 to compensate the island for its loss of crown lands, if this compensation could not be got from the imperial government. As the latter consideration was the most important of the "better terms", a word must be said of the "land question".

Ever since 1767 the land question had been a bone of contention in Prince Edward Island. The proprietors, almost entirely absentee, had either neglected their grants, sold them, or held them for unearned increment, while at the same time resisting taxation for local improvements. During the first half of the

nineteenth century there had been an almost complete change in ownership; but no change in opposition to taxation or democratic legislation. Various efforts had been made by the local legislature to extinguish the titles of the proprietors and secure the fee simple for the tenant; but all such efforts had been resisted by the imperial government. Finally, in 1853, Premier Coles passed a local act, enabling the government to purchase the lands and re-sell them to the tenants. Under this act, the Worrell and Selkirk estates and two smaller ones were obtained at first, a total of 158,418 acres. In 1860, the Palmer administration appointed a land commission; but its report was rejected by the proprietors; and, when the local government sought to have the report carried out, its legislation was disallowed by the imperial government. This led to a remarkable unanimity in discontent, on the part of both local political parties, so far as the land question was concerned; and it had always remained in the back of their minds in discussing Confederation. But, in 1865, the tenants decided to take their problem out of the hands of politicians and formed the Tenant League to resist distraint for rent. This had no other effect than to bring back the military to the island for two years, at a cost of some £10,000. In the meantime the island's government reverted to the principle of purchase, and by 1869, when the "better terms" were made, they had acquired 433,157 acres, at a cost of \$454,606.61. This, added to lands held previous to 1853, raised the total to about half a million acres, and, thus, left, in round numbers, 800,000 acres in the hands of proprietors. It was this land which the island wished to have re-vested in the crown; and, it was its view that, as the imperial government had granted the lands away, it should make any necessary compensation to the proprietors, as it had done for the Hudson's Bay Company in Vancouver Island, and as Canada had wished it to do in regard to Rupert's Land.

It is important to remember these facts, if we are to understand the rejection of the "better terms" in 1870. In the debates on these terms and in the detailed reply of the island's government, the point is emphasized repeatedly that Canada had done the island no wrong and, therefore, should not be held responsible for the sin of the imperial government. At the same time the island was suffering vicariously for that original sin.

On January 7, 1870, the Haythorne government (Coles had retired, and Hensley had risen to the bench) decided that, inasmuch as the terms offered by Canada did not comprise a full and

immediate settlement of the land tenures and indemnity from the imperial governments for loss of territorial revenues, they could not be accepted. On February 4, this statement was elaborated in a very able manner, showing that the island's leaders had made a thorough study of their problems and were determined henceforth to accept nothing on faith. They pointed out that, if they were to accept the \$800,000 as a free gift from the Canadian government, it would not settle the land question, but it would compromise the island as having been bought by the dominion; and it would put its representatives in an invidious position, if in future they were called upon to vote on the use of dominion funds for reconciling other discontented provinces. They recognized that Canada was not responsible for the landlord system; but they would have been more grateful, if at the Quebec Conference and in succeeding conferences, she had lent her influence to the island's demands on the imperial government; and they suggested that, if Canada even at this late date, should aid in securing redress for an injured sister colony, she would be able to look forward to a dominion from sea to sea, with more confidence. At the same time they insisted that the land question was not the only objection that they had to Confederation because section 92 of the B.N.A. Act would preclude the island from getting a much needed railway built out of dominion funds. They concluded with the statement that they were exercising only necessary prudence since they "were invited to perform the important and irretrievable public act of choosing their future national destiny".

In the Assembly, also, these objections were developed. The Hon. Roderick McAulay argued that the other colonies had got into debt by building roads but they had the roads and had spent the money at home, whereas the island's debt had been piled up solely by the purchase of lands for which the money had all gone out of the colony. Howlan was determined not to surrender the constitution of the country, "until the portrait of the last landlord was hung up in the Legislative Library of the Island, as a memento of the past. Then and not till then would the different sections of the country be brought into closer communion with each other by the introduction of the iron horse, which could then run through one free farm—as it were—extending from the North Cape to the East Point, carrying the products of our thrifty and enterprising farmers to the best markets."

Some bitterness was injected into these debates by a despatch

from the colonial secretary to the effect that the island would be unwise to reject these terms, "for the sake of keeping alive a claim against the Imperial government which it is quite certain will never be acknowledged". There were also accusations of inconsistency in the attitude of certain politicians towards Confederation and much bandying back and forth of such phrases as "no terms man", "confederate", and "anti-confederate". Alexander Laird called Brecken "a political threshing machine"; and Brecken declined to reply to "the silver-tongued, ponderous, political philosopher of Wilmot Creek". When the vote was finally taken it stood thirteen to ten in favour of rejecting "better terms"; but a resolution implying resentment of imperial pressure was carried nineteen to four.

These resolutions, and the debates that preceded them, show a weakening in the number of those who were opposed to Confederation on any terms; and they, also, indicate the possibility of future negotiations with both free land and a railway as the necessary bases of discussion. It is significant that "The Union Association of Prince Edward Island", which was formed at this time to promote Confederation, thought that the "better terms" should have included the construction of a railway.

VI

In the summer of 1870, Sir John A. Macdonald spent a vacation on the island; and in the autumn an election was held. As Sir John was intimate with the Union Association and with the Popes, it is difficult to resist the conclusion that the future activities of "no terms" J. C. Pope were abetted by the much contriving "old tomorrow". At any rate, although the Haythorne government was successful in the election, Pope snatched victory from its hands, by exploiting a conflict between Roman Catholic and Protestant Liberals, and formed a coalition government, which assumed office on September 10, 1870. In the next session of the legislature he rushed through a railway bill, which ultimately decided the future destiny of the island.

In introducing his bill, Premier Pope emphasized the prospective earning power of the railroad, the relatively small cost of construction, the "ultimate superiority of a narrow guage", the factories that would spring up in the railway centres, and the new land that would be brought under cultivation, all of which would keep the people at home to enrich the island by their own industry.

He also predicted an inrush of American tourists, who would spend £300,000 annually.

The opponents of the bill objected to the haste with which it was being carried and to the fact that no mention of the proposal had been made during the election. They suspected it as a tortuous road to Confederation. Cornelius Howatt thought that even if a railroad were necessary it need not be forced on "at railroad speed". Benjamin Davies insisted that it should have been submitted first to the people. Peter Sinclair saw it as an obvious move to get around section 92 of the B.N.A. Act, by saddling the colony with a debt equal to that of Canada, then entering Confederation, and surrendering the railroad. Others expressed similar views in different ways; but the coalition kept to its course and Pope replied evasively to the charges of confederate leanings as follows: "A great many people had been led to believe that a railroad meant Confederation and that the present government were not to be trusted with its construction; but those who had been imposed upon had been politically duped." Finally, the bill was carried in the Assembly by a majority of eighteen to eleven, and in the Council by a majority of eight to four; and, whether or not its opponents were politically duped, there was one man in Prince Edward Island, who had no doubts as to the outcome of the project, the new lieutenant-governor, W. C. F. Robinson. He had assumed office on October 7, 1870; and, in March and April, 1871, he wrote confidential despatches to the Colonial Office, pointing out that the time would soon be ripe for fresh offers from Canada, either through opposition to the immediate construction of the railway or through the heavy taxation that would be occasioned thereby. He added that, because of the probable effect of the measure on the political future of the colony, "I need hardly say that I have not assented to it with any less pleasure".

The first contract for construction of the railway was let on September 11, 1871; and the first sod was turned on October 5. In August, certain members of the legislature asked Robinson to call a special session to consider the railway tenders; but he declined. In December, sixteen members of the Assembly and six members of the Legislative Council submitted another protest against the conduct of the government; but Robinson again declined to ignore his proper advisors. The government itself delayed the meeting of the legislature until March 5, 1872, when it found itself in a minority and was forced to ask for a dissolution.

In this "six-day session" a small railway scandal was brought to light: a member had been bribed \$1000 to vote for a proposed branch extension. Feeling ran high. David Laird, a new member of the House, said that the railway bill "was born in corruption and cradled in rascality". The Hon. D. Davies accused Pope of having carried it by his "d—d brigade". Outside the House, in the press and on the platform, the feeling was equally warm. The *Broad axe* satirized the government in "The dance of the railway ring"; and a vitriolic journalistic war was waged between the *Patriot* and the *Herald*.

Dissolution took place on March 11, and a new House met on April 23, in which Haythorne returned to power with a majority of nineteen to eleven. In this new government, David Laird of the *Patriot*, who had revealed the railway scandal, had a seat, and the Hon. Edward Palmer, stalwart Conservative champion of other days, became attorney-general. They went on with the construction of the railroad, and entered into a new contract for the extension of branch lines from Mt. Stewart to Souris and from Alberton to Tignish. This contract, together with that of the Pope government, anticipated an outlay of about two and a half million dollars, payable in debentures of the island's government. Considerable incompetence was displayed in the management of the project; and some unforeseen obstacles were met over a right of way; but these difficulties could have been overcome had not the local bankers got into a panic.

The details of this episode cannot be given here, except to say that Charles Palmer, brother of the attorney-general, and president of the Union Bank, finding some difficulty in disposing of debentures at par, initiated a triangular correspondence with Sir John Rose in London and Tilley in Ottawa, with a view to sounding the dominion government as to further negotiations on Confederation. At the same time, Lieutenant-Governor Robinson got in touch with the governor-general.

After some preliminary sparring as to who should appear to be taking the initiative, the Canadian government suggested a delegation from the island. Accordingly, in March, 1873, Haythorne and Laird went to Ottawa and secured such terms as they were willing to submit to the people. These terms embodied in principle all that had been offered in the Quebec Resolutions and the "better terms" of 1869, as well as all that the island had dared to demand, when it rejected previous proposals. They offered a solution of the land question, a release from "ice-bound com-

munication", and financial terms that allowed the island to enter the dominion with an indebtedness of \$45.00 per head, including the assumption of railway debentures. Other terms did not differ materially from the pact of 1867.

Haythorne submitted these terms to the people, with confidence, immediately on his return from Ottawa; but he lost the election to his rival J. C. Pope, who assured the electors that, if he and his government had been treating with Macdonald, they could have got still better terms.

Although the Haythorne government had been defeated, the principle of Confederation had been approved at last. Haythorne attributed his own defeat to the withdrawal of Roman Catholic support; and he explained the reaction of public feeling on Confederation not merely to the financial position of the colony but "to the fact that *for the first time in the history of the question it can now be fairly argued that the terms of union offered for our acceptance by Canada are advantageous and just*".

As the new Pope government had a mandate for Confederation, its sole duty was to procure the better terms that it had promised to the electors. Pope, Haviland, and Howlan, therefore, made a pilgrimage to Ottawa, and succeeded in getting an indirect advance on the Haythorne-Laird terms, whereby the island was allowed a debt of \$50.00 per head, instead of \$45.00. These final terms were submitted to the legislature by Pope, and were graciously seconded by Laird, who said: "As a party we were defeated but nevertheless the question has been sustained." The resolutions in favour of union were carried in the Council unanimously, and in the Assembly by a majority of twenty-seven to two, an almost complete contrast to the vote of 1865 on the Quebec Resolutions. The two die-hards were A. E. C. Holland and Cornelius Howatt. The latter, not without humour, said: "I know that in this House I occupy about the same position that our representatives will in the Dominion Parliament."

Addresses on behalf of union were despatched immediately to London; and an imperial order-in-council fixed the date for July 1, 1873. The union was proclaimed in due form at noon on that day. Three weeks later Lord Dufferin visited the island; and, from Charlottetown, he wrote to Sir John A. Macdonald: "I found the Island in a high state of jubilation and quite under the impression that it is the Dominion that has been annexed to Prince Edward; and in alluding to the subject I have adopted the same tone."

D. C. HARVEY

THE GARRISON OF FORT WELLINGTON: A MILITARY DISPUTE DURING THE FENIAN TROUBLES

DURING much of Queen Victoria's reign the cost of colonial defence was a matter of major concern to successive governments in Britain. The expense of the armed forces was by far the largest item in the cost of the oversea empire to the mother country; and after the concession of responsible government to the great colonies in America, South Africa, and Australasia the Colonial Office faced the task of inducing these communities to assume a proportion of the cost of their own defence commensurate with their new liberties. This was the more necessary as the influential anti-imperialist politicians of the Manchester school were making the colonial military expenditure one of the chief exhibits in their perennial appeal to the taxpayer against governmental extravagance, and no statesman in England could afford to turn too deaf an ear to the cry for economy. In an age notable for its little faith in the future of the empire, the cost of the colonial garrisons was the heel of Achilles which the existing imperial system presented to the shafts of hostile critics.

The process of educating the colonies in self-defence was not a short one. In Australia alone was it relatively simple, for there was present there neither a dangerous native population nor a formidable foreign neighbour. In South Africa and New Zealand the constant recurrence of native wars made it seem impossible to effect any permanent reduction of the imperial forces; and in Canada the proximity of the United States had a similar effect.

Attempts to reduce the establishments in British North America began as soon as responsible government was well established and the colony had commenced to recover from the commercial depression that had accompanied the loss of preference in the British market. In 1851 Lord Grey laid down the principles on which the home government proposed to act, and the Crimean War soon necessitated an even greater reduction of the garrisons than he had contemplated. Yet in 1856 the controversy with the United States over enlistment resulted in a quiet but expeditious movement of a large force of red-coats from the Crimea to Canada; and just when the restoration of more normal relations had permitted a return of the establishment to the desired modest figure, the outbreak of the American Civil War upset the home govern-

ment's plans again. The *Trent* affair of November, 1861, brought a considerable expeditionary force hurrying to British America. This little army, somewhat reduced in 1864, did duty on the frontier while the war lasted. Then the Fenian menace immediately arose, and the autumn of 1866 found transports with reinforcements once more steaming up the St. Lawrence.

Fenian threats continued into the early seventies, and while they lasted the Canadian government protested against any reduction of the imperial garrison. But the feeling that Canada was not doing enough to defend herself—roused to fever heat by the defeat of John A. Macdonald's Militia Bill in 1862—was still present in English minds; and the home authorities gradually became more determined to cut down the enormous bill for the army in Canada, more particularly after 1867, when the federal system which had been heralded as a potent means of strengthening the independent military organization of British North America was at last in existence. In 1868 the Disraeli ministry withdrew several battalions, and when the Canadian ministers made the customary protest it met with no sympathy even from the governor-general:

The Gov^t.-Gen^l. must . . . call the attention of the Council to the fact that there is not at present nor has there been for many months any portion of the local force of the Dominion on permanent duty and that he does not think it advisable for the Canadian Ministers to call on the Imp^l. Gov^t. to maintain in Canada a large Imperial force when they do not find it necessary to call out for duty any part of the troops which are under their own control.¹

At the end of the year Gladstone formed his first ministry. Cardwell went to the War Office, Granville to the Colonial Office; and colonial military policy suddenly hardened. Canada was soon informed that sweeping reductions were intended—and reduction soon ripened into complete withdrawal, which was carried out despite Canadian opposition.² It is true that Halifax, and later Esquimalt, continued to be garrisoned at imperial expense, but they were maintained purely as bases for the Royal Navy similar to Gibraltar or Malta, and not as colonial stations in the older sense. For all practical purposes, the first battalion of the 60th Rifles put *Finis* to the gallant chronicle of the British army's career in Canada on November 11, 1871, when they

¹Public Archives of Canada, *Series G*, vol. 573 A, p. 52: Lord Monck's memorandum for the Privy Council, March 20, 1868.

²*Sessional papers* (Canada) 1871, no. 46 (vol. 5).

marched from the citadel at Quebec to the transport *Orontes* with their band playing "Good-bye, Sweetheart, Good-bye".

The episode here related belongs to the final phase of this long struggle, and, while in itself something of a tempest in a teapot, affords enlightenment on the embarrassing nature of the business. It exemplifies, in little, the difficulty of harmonizing the Canadian and the imperial points of view. On the one side we see a conviction based on the custom of many years that the defence of Canada is primarily a matter of imperial concern, and an almost fierce reluctance to employ any considerable portion of the dominion's relatively small revenues for military purposes; on the other a growing feeling that a populous, prosperous, and all but independent colony should no longer be a drain upon the resources of the mother country. These events of the summer of 1869 show clearly how far from satisfactory was the military co-operation between dominion and imperial authorities during the regulars' last years in Canada. They were only one episode in a continuous series of disputes that took place between Ottawa and Westminster in the years 1868-70; and it cannot be doubted that such vexatious squabbles stiffened the resolution of the home government to put an end to the whole situation.¹

I

At Prescott, Ontario, there still exists a well-preserved little defensive work known as Fort Wellington, consisting of a masonry blockhouse surrounded by a high earthen parapet and palisades. Built originally in 1812, it was named in honour of Wellington's victory at Salamanca in that year. It was completely reconstructed in 1838, the work being only half-completed when in November the fort was the assembly-point of the British forces gathered to attack the raiders who had ensconced themselves in and around the old windmill which likewise still stands, on the bank of the St. Lawrence a mile and a half to the eastward.²

¹Without referring the reader to a succession of manuscript despatches, it is sufficient to call attention to two collections in the *Sessional papers*: 1869, no. 60 (vol. 5), the report of Cartier and McDougall on their conferences with the imperial government on military subjects, with appended correspondence; and 1871, no. 46 (vol. 5), a voluminous collection of correspondence with the imperial authorities. The dispute with the War Office over the sum of £847 claimed for damages to arms which had been freely lent to Canada to arm her volunteers, and then replaced by more modern weapons, likewise at imperial expense, which is chronicled in the former of these two papers, is one of the meanest passages in the long story.

²*Guide to Fort Wellington and vicinity* . . . (Ottawa, Department of the Interior, n.d.). On the state of the fort in Oct., 1838, see Public Archives of Canada, C, vol. 445, p. 268.

During the Fenian disturbances it was still considered important on account of its situation at the head of the St. Lawrence Rapids and the canal system which they necessitate, and opposite the American town of Ogdensburgh (itself something of a Fenian centre) which was the terminus of railway lines affording hostile elements in the United States easy transport to the border. Its importance was enhanced after Ottawa became the capital, for it was the natural frontier covering-post for that city, the terminus of the only railway which then served it, and the best situation for a "look-out party" to prevent desertion from among the troops there.¹ The fort was accordingly occupied by the regulars in 1867;² and the beginning of 1869 found it garrisoned by one company of that useful local corps of the British army, the Royal Canadian Rifles.

In February of that year the War Office took some exception to the plans proposed by Lieutenant-General Sir Charles Windham, commanding in British North America, for redistributing the regular force which was to remain in Canada after the projected reduction. Cardwell observed that the scheme contemplated the abandonment of only three stations, and, therefore, permitted less economy than might have been hoped for; and he suggested particularly that it was "very desirable" that Toronto should cease to be occupied by imperial troops.³ This suggestion drew a vigorous protest from Windham.⁴ Using political arguments which his predecessors had used before him in similar circumstances, he called attention to the bad effect which the total withdrawal of the regulars would have on the feelings of the people and the efficiency of the militia in Ontario, and strongly urged the maintenance of a garrison at Toronto:

It is . . . situated in the midst of about the most loyal portion of Her Majesty's subjects, who have always been the first to come forward as soldiers when there was any necessity for doing so . . . The maintenance of troops in the West, keeps alive a Military spirit there and lends a tone to the feelings and opinions of the population, which I consider it advisable to foster.

Toronto, he said, did not justify Cardwell's description of it as "an expensive and isolated position". At the same time he

¹Its occupation for this purpose is prospectively urged in a memorandum of the deputy quartermaster-general in 1864 (*Correspondence of the governor-general's secretary*, 11, 316).

²*C.*, vol. 787, p. 57.

³*C.*, vol. 37, p. 194; Lugard to lieutenant-general commanding B.N.A., Feb. 20, 1869.

⁴*Ibid.*, p. 201; Windham to secretary of state for war, March 12, 1869.

advised keeping troops at Ottawa, as the seat of government, and objected to the evacuation of the outlying posts of Prescott and Isle aux Noix, arguing that if these forts were left unoccupied they might be seized by Fenians whose eviction from them would be a costly business. If they were to be given up he desired to destroy them. The governor-general, Sir John Young (afterwards Lord Lisgar) concurred in these recommendations.¹

In reply Windham received a rather obscure despatch² reiterating the desirability of concentration and the impolicy of maintaining small detachments in such positions as the four just referred to, "lest they should invite attack from Fenians or others in the United States in serious force, and be obliged to retreat unless re-inforced by Imperial or Local Forces", but adding:

Subject to this limitation you are at liberty to use your discretion in complying with the wishes of the Governor General having sufficient assurance, in every case, of support from the local forces in case of attack, so as not to expose yourself to the hazards to which I have above referred.

This placed Windham in a particularly uncomfortable position; and on June 4 he wrote again,³ acknowledging the soundness of the policy of concentration in a purely military view, but repeating his conviction that there were strong political arguments against it. Nevertheless, he added, as Cardwell's despatch appeared to throw the whole responsibility on him, he had no choice but to order the evacuation of the west—although this would mean extra expense for hiring quarters at Quebec. Thus pressed, the War Office at length definitely sanctioned "for a time" the distribution which he proposed—leaving a modest garrison (a field battery and five companies of infantry) at Toronto, and single companies at Prescott and Isle aux Noix. The War Office added once more, however: "In the event of any serious apprehension of disturbances, you will bear in mind the caution you have already received, not to leave small bodies of troops in isolated and unsupported positions."⁴

¹*Ibid.*, p. 210: Military secretary, Ottawa, to military secretary, Montreal, March 12, 1869.

²*Ibid.*, p. 239: Lugard (W.O.) to Windham, confidential, April 29, 1869.

³*G.*, vol. 565 A., p. 78: To under secretary of state for war, confidential (copy). One sentence is painfully indicative of the timidity of British policy at this time: "Were I ordered to distribute the small force to be left here upon purely Military considerations, I should, instead of distributing it, concentrate it at Quebec where it would be ready to embark for England in case of War, for in such an eventuality its insignificance would invite attack which could only lead to disastrous results."

⁴*C.*, vol. 37, p. 251: Storks to G.O.C. Canada, Aug. 4, 1869 (copy).

II

Long before this last message reached Windham, however, one of the periodical Fenian alarms had taken place. John O'Neill, the victor of Ridgeway, now president of the "Canadian party" of the Brotherhood, was trying hard to organize another invasion of Canada. On July 12 the British consul-general at New York made a report on his activity to Sir John Young.¹ The governor-general then took counsel with his ministers, and, at their request, wrote to the British minister at Washington, to the admiral of the station, and to General Windham, informing them of the situation and requesting their co-operation in their several spheres.²

Windham, with his superiors' ominous admonition always before him, replied for his part on July 26, requesting the assistance in his arrangements of Canadian forces to back up his isolated detachments. Two days later, he had an interview at Montreal with Sir George Cartier, the minister of militia, and asked him to call out and place at his disposal in Ontario a brigade of 1,500 volunteers, and a similar force in Quebec. Cartier refused to do so. His excuse was that "Parliament had granted him no money for the purpose". This was merely an evasion: for the Canadian government had called out 10,000 men in March, 1866, and smaller forces at other times of anticipated trouble, simply as precautionary measures and without any parliamentary authority. Cartier was not the most tactful of men; and Windham apparently left him in some disgust, and forthwith resolved, for want of the solid support which the War Office had specified, to withdraw the garrison from Toronto—that city being, as he wrote Cardwell, "one of the places that you objected to my occupying and . . . the one farthest from me".

This decision alarmed the Canadian government. Toronto—with a tear in its eye, if we can believe the *Globe*—was saying good-bye to the 13th Hussars (the last British cavalry regiment to serve in Canada) that very day.³ To withdraw the whole regular garrison thence would have been unpopular at the best of times; to do so in the face of a possible Fenian inroad, and just at the moment when the government's apprehensions were beginning to be rumoured in the press,⁴ was unthinkable. In the

¹C, vol. 1287, p. 335: Noted in schedule of enclosures, in Windham to secretary of state, Aug. 13. Cf. G, vol. 573 A, p. 153: Young to Granville, confidential July 16 (draft).

²*Ibid.*, p. 156: Young to Granville, confidential, July 23.

³*Globe*, July 29. This regiment had been sent to Canada during the Fenian excitement of the autumn of 1866.

⁴*Ibid.*, from the *Ottawa Citizen*.

afternoon of the same day Sir Charles Windham received a call from the one Canadian minister whose faculty for the management of men never seemed to fail—even when the men were badly ruffled imperial dignitaries. Next morning a mollified lieutenant-general described the interview in a letter to Sir John Young:

... I wish to inform you that Sir J. A. Macdonald called upon me here yesterday and as he has promised me that if more serious information should be received and be thought worthy of being reported to me, the Government would at the same time call out and place under my Command 3,000 Vols. fit in every respect for immediate service in the Field, I consent with Your Excy's approval to allow the troops at Toronto to remain undisturbed.

To the War Office he wrote:

I was greatly pleased at Sir John Macdonald's assurance, as I found that the removal of the Troops from Toronto would have had a most deleterious effect upon the good feeling of the population of Ontario. To use Sir J. Macdonald's own words "It would be suicidal".¹

It must be remarked, however, that the Canadian government had won its point without making any very genuine concession. It remained in effect the sole judge of the seriousness of any emergency; and the later course of events indicates that this promise to call out volunteers if it received any Fenian news worthy of communication to the lieutenant-general merely resulted in fact in its taking pains thereafter to avoid communicating to that officer any information at all.

The whole military situation in Canada was absurd enough. The lieutenant-general commanding was responsible to the War Office in all matters relating to the imperial troops in the dominion, and for them had no official responsibility to the Canadian government, which, of course, made no contribution towards their cost.² Nevertheless, in time of war or other disturbance, he was understood to be charged with the whole general responsibility for the defence of the country, and the militia when called out for service in such emergencies was placed under his command. This was done in the Fenian raids of 1866 and 1870. Until the militia was so called out and handed over, however, the imperial officer had no authority over it, and its direction lay in the hands of the Canadian government. Furthermore, although the com-

¹C, vol. 1287, p. 335: Windham to secretary of state for war, confidential, Aug. 13. This despatch describes the events of the past month. C, vol. 1319, p. 251: Windham to Young, July 29. Cf. G, vol. 573 A, p. 160: Young to Granville, confidential, Aug. 13.

²In some cases, however, Canada paid the cost of quarters for the troops.

manding general might thus at short notice be called upon to take measures for the defence of the dominion against the Fenians, the whole intelligence organization designed to afford information of the enemy's strength and intentions was likewise controlled by the civil government. This organization's high efficiency is the best defence that can be adduced for the local ministry's attitude on military questions at this time. Its chief elements were the outpost or detective division of the dominion police; the special agents in the United States (of whom the most important was the celebrated "Henri Le Caron") reporting to Gilbert McMicken, the dominion police commissioner for Ontario; and the sources of information available to the consul-general in New York, who communicated regularly with the governor-general.¹ Of all the news thus obtained the commander of the forces received only what the Canadian government chose to communicate to him;² and, as we shall see, he was sometimes left lamenting, like old James Forsythe, "I don't know; nobody ever tells me anything."

III

There were other difficulties besides the Toronto question. The general was worried by the exposed situation of the tiny imperial garrison at Prescott, and very anxious that the government should place gunboats in commission on the St. Lawrence and the lakes. In the letter which reported the meeting with Macdonald,³ he urged this upon the governor-general:

I cannot insist too strongly on what I have said about gun boats, With them and a sharp officer to superintend them, the Frontier is safe from Lake Superior to Cornwall.

After the raid in 1866 the Canadian government had acquired several improvised gunboats, which were manned for it by officers and men of the Royal Navy. These vessels patrolled the border waters, all the expense with the exception of the provision of the steamers themselves being borne by the imperial treasury.⁴

¹Public Archives of Canada, *Macdonald papers*: "Fenians" and "McMicken reports", *passim*.

²On April 17, 1868, Windham writes to the War Office that as he gets his Fenian information only through Monck, and has received no warning from him, he has no direct reason to submit against the proposed withdrawal of troops, "but I beg to state that it is very unpopular in Canada West" (*C*, vol. 1287, p. 15).

³*C*, vol. 1319, p. 251: Windham to Young, July 29.

⁴In all, fifteen vessels were chartered by Canada for various periods in the course of 1866 and 1867. Seven of them were plated with iron at the government's expense. In May, 1867, the number actually in service was reduced from four to three; and finally two—*Rescue* (275 tons) and *Prince Alfred* (456 tons)—were purchased and retained. The gunboat service had cost Canada \$126,000 by Nov. 1, 1867. Three

In 1868, as the result of an opinion elicited from Lord Monck,¹ the home government informed Canada that it was time for her to provide for this service from her own resources.² The Canadian ministers protested, and their enthusiasm for naval defence cooled: when in 1869 the imperial authorities insisted on freeing the British exchequer from this burden, the two remaining dominion gunboats *Prince Alfred* and *Rescue* were laid up in harbour without fighting crews aboard.

After the events just narrated, Windham had betaken himself to Murray Bay, but found in that pleasant place no refuge from care. When Sir John Young, accompanied as it happened by Cartier, arrived there a few days later on the steamer *Napoleon III* on his way to the lower provinces, the general came aboard. There was an interview in which Windham urged the exposed situation of Prescott and the desirability of Canadian forces, on land or water, being provided to support the garrison or to relieve it, and Young took his side; nevertheless, Cartier again was obdurate. Windham wrote:

Had Sir G. Cartier been willing to supply a Garrison of Vol^{ts} for the Fort at Prescott, or to have placed upon the river there a properly manned and Equipped Gun boat, I believe His Excellency would have been quite contented. I certainly should have been so.³

The question in Windham's mind now was whether he should withdraw the garrison from Prescott altogether, or reinforce it from the diminished regular force at his own disposal. Believing the post important, he chose the latter alternative, and on August 12, about a hundred and forty men of the Royal Canadian Rifles arrived from Kingston to reinforce Prescott, making the total garrison there two hundred strong. The fort was too small to accommodate the reinforcement, which camped outside.⁴ Reporting his action to the War Office, Windham observed with regard to Fort Wellington:

small vessels of the Royal Navy—H. M. ships *Heron*, *Britomart*, and *Cherub*—were also employed on the lakes for some time. This force was, of course, much in excess of that permitted by the Rush-Bagot Convention of 1817; but as the United States itself was maintaining at this time a force above the prescribed limit, it was not in a position to complain of these temporary defensive measures. See *Sessional papers*, 1867-68, no. 37 (vol. 7); *G*, vol. 221. p. 138: Michel to Buckingham, May 16, 1867; Sir W. L. Clowes and others, *The Royal Navy* (London, 1903), VII, 215.

¹*G*, to secretary of state, 1867, p. 116: Monck to Buckingham, March 14, 1868, in reply to Buckingham to Monck, Feb. 22, 1868 (*G*, vol. 558).

²*G*, vol. 559: Buckingham to Monck, April 14, 1868.

³*C*, vol. 1287, p. 335: Windham to secretary of state for war, confidential, Aug. 13.

⁴The Canadian government paid field allowance to officers thus encamped (*ibid.*, p. 368).

As it is at present, it is big enough for a mouse, whereas it ought to be big enough for a lion.

The position is most important. It stands on the most vulnerable part of our line, and ought to be made capable of holding 250, surrounded by a proper ditch and duly armed with artillery, or be destroyed.

As it is it can hold but 60 or 70 men with difficulty, and being within a few yards of Ogdensburg it runs great risk of being surprised. It belongs to the Canadian Government and should either be held by them, or, I repeat, be greatly strengthened or totally destroyed.¹

The Canadian ministers were quite unable to share Windham's anxiety, as Macdonald's letters to him and to the governor-general show.² To the latter he wrote, on hearing of Windham's action:

I have made arrangements to have a detective at Ogdensburg opposite who will advise as to the collection of any number of men there. I do not think that there was any necessity for a reinforcement at that point. The Company stationed at Prescott were in no danger. Fenians would certainly land at a place in Canada where the Troops were not and intrench themselves hoping to be able to hold their ground for a week or so, so as to enable the black-guardism of the United States to join them. Prescott is the last place they would think of attacking, where they would be assailed by the Troops from Kingston and Montreal & in the reverse by the Force, both regular & volunteers at Ottawa.

You suggest our relieving the Force by a Company of Militia. The moment that our Volunteers are embodied they become a portion of Her Majesty's Army, & are under the command of the Lt. General, and the Articles of War. Any disaster to them would as greatly affect the prestige of Her Majesty's Service & the honor of the English flag as if they were Regulars.

However, the reinforcement sent there . . . settles the matter for the present.

Macdonald obviously thought Windham more than a little timid in his anxiety to prevent the possibility of disaster to a small regular detachment. We have seen one potent reason for that anxiety—the War Office's attitude towards the maintenance of outlying detachments. It is also true—Macdonald to the contrary—that had the Fenians been able to advertise a success over the queen's troops (even one gained as a result of a grotesque disparity in numbers) the political consequences both in Ireland

¹*Ibid.*, p. 35, confidential, Aug. 13. Fort Wellington was one of the ordnance properties made over by the imperial government to Canada in 1856. (See Canadian act 19 Vict., cap. 45, second schedule.)

²Public Archives of Canada, *Private letter books of Sir John A. Macdonald*, XIII, 96: To Windham, Aug. 13. *Ibid.*, 94: To Young, Aug. 13.

and the United States might have been very serious—more so by far than in the event of the defeat of a force of Canadian volunteers. Macdonald's reference to the "honor of the English flag" recalls, too, another circumstance of the time calculated to add to Windham's uneasiness—the prevalence of counsels of timidity in the English press. The danger of "disgrace" to the few thousand imperials in Canada had lately been aired by many publicists. A year before, for instance, an anonymous writer in *Fraser's* had cheerfully announced:

The defeat of an armed police is vexatious, *especially if it be followed by the loss of a province*. But the defeat of a single British regiment is a thousand-fold more serious. We lose in the first case territory, *but not honour*; we lose in the latter both.¹

The italics are ours. The reasoning seems strange to-day, but it was common form on the lips of those who argued for evacuation of the colonies in the sixties; and it cannot have tended to create an atmosphere of confidence around headquarters in Canada. Finally, it may be added with respect to the particular situation at Prescott, the fact that in 1838 that place *had* been an object of attack must have been present to Windham's mind.

IV

The queen's representative in Canada had by now lost patience with his ministers' reluctance to incur expenditure for defence, and the general's telegraphic report that he had drawn upon his comparatively small regular force for a reinforcement for Fort Wellington seems to have been the last straw. It found Young at Charlottetown; and he promptly sent off to the Colonial Office a confidential despatch of an unusual nature. Outlining the events of the past few weeks, he reported the late reinforcement of Prescott, and continued:

This can only be a temporary measure, for there is not accommodation for the number of men in the place and they cannot be kept under canvas beyond the middle or end of September.

It is perhaps beyond the line of my duty to offer a suggestion on such a matter—but if I may be permitted to do so I would recommend the dismantling of the Fort and the withdrawal of the Troops entirely from Prescott on a given day—say the 15 or 30 of Sept.;—I would duly inform the Canadian Government of the move as a thing decided upon, and offer them the option of taking

¹"The reorganization of the army" (*Fraser's magazine*, May, 1868). The same article suggests getting rid of the West Indies by gift or sale to any power that will have them.

over the Fort, or of its being left dismantled. On the date fixed for withdrawing H.M. troops—to that date [*sic*] I would rigidly adhere. Otherwise we may be amused by a lengthy negotiation while this petty defenceless fort with its weak garrison is left exposed to insult.

The Colonial gunboat at Kingston is not manned, and no timely assistance, in the event of a sudden attack can be reckoned upon from it nor yet from the Militia, who could not be collected in force under several hours while an attack might be made from the opposite side of the St. Lawrence in five or seven minutes in a steamer in summer and in winter in whatever time it would take a body of men to march half a mile upon the ice.¹

By 1869 the independent authority of the governor-general was nearly a thing of the past; but this despatch is evidence that, on occasion, that official still felt justified in giving personal advice to the government in Whitehall whose servant he was, and in going behind his ministers' backs to do so. It hardly required his hint to make the British worm turn, however, for on August 26, before hearing of it, and immediately on receipt of Windham's report of his action with regard to Prescott, the War Office sent a sharp note to the Colonial Office:

I am to request that . . . you will convey to H[is] L[ordship] an expression of Mr. Cardwell's regret that notwithstanding all the fears that have so repeatedly been expressed of a Fenian incursion, the Canadian Ministers sho^d not have obtained from the Colonial Legislature the sums necessary to protect their frontier by manning the Gun Boats.

Mr. Cardwell thinks Sir John Young sho^d be told plainly that Prescott is a Fort belonging to his Government, that as soon as the cold weather renders it impossible to keep the present support there the small Garrison will unless supported by a strong Colonial Contingent be withdrawn, & that the enlargement of the Fort & its permanent occupation by an adequate Military [force] are questions for the Govern^t. of the Dominion.²

In acknowledging Young's despatch, Lord Granville forwarded to him a copy of this letter, and stated that he agreed with Cardwell on the attitude of the Canadian government: it was for the Canadians to decide whether the fort should be enlarged, or dismantled, when evacuated by the imperial troops at the advent of cold weather. No actual date was set for the evacuation. The substance of these decisions was conveyed to Young by cable.³

¹G., vol. 573 A, p. 160: Young to [Granville], confidential, Aug. 13 (pencil draft).

²G., vol. 565 A, p. 126 (copy).

³*Ibid.*, p. 125: Granville to Young, confidential, Sept. 4. Cable, p. 127.

When October came, Windham had still received no direct instructions concerning Fort Wellington, but, after consulting Young, he decided to act upon those which Young had received from the Colonial Office—that the garrison was to be withdrawn unless given strong Canadian support. The local government was not prepared to provide such support as the general considered satisfactory—its refusal to man a gunboat being apparently the decisive factor. When he gave notice of his intention to withdraw the force at Prescott to Kingston, the government agreed to replace it by a party of volunteer militia. On October 20 the relief took place—if such it could be called: two hundred regulars marched out, and *twenty-four* volunteers marched in. In contrast to the lieutenant-general's anxiety for Prescott, the Canadian ministers displayed an unconcern verging almost on the divine.¹

In the meantime there had been another serious Fenian alarm, based on information from the detectives. Young had several conferences with ministers, and it was decided, in view of a reported Fenian intention of setting fire to drill sheds and armouries, that the arms and accoutrements stored in these buildings should be issued to the individual militiamen for safe keeping. The governor-general was decidedly worried:

These alarms especially this last have given me more anxiety than I like to tell. It is not that I fear any conquest of Canada, but there may be a great deal of bloodshed and marauding—and ill-feeling caused thereafter.

I scarcely think that any Fenian however sanguine can hope to conquer Canada but they will as they boast "unfurl the Green Flag" (probably in some position where they cannot be reached by an adequate force for several days,) publish a proclamation and invite volunteers of whom numbers will, we know, be inclined to join them. Then when opposed in force they will retire, having kept the game alive, and earned a title to renewed contributions from their dupes.

The U S Gov^t. are I believe on the alert and prepared to take active measures to check any influx of marauders into Canada to the utmost—I rely confidently on their aid. If we get over the

¹C, vol. 1287, p. 368: Windham to secretary of state for war, Nov. 5. In a confidential despatch to Granville of Nov. 15 (G, vol. 573 A, p. 187) Young explains the ministers' excuse for the smallness of the force: "The force (armed civilians) to whom they have entrusted the place seems small but they rely upon its being at short notice reinforced by the Volunteers of the place and upon the aid of the gunboat which is now fitted for Service,—furthermore they believe that they can rely upon receiving early information of any project of invasion from various sources in Ogdensburg." Fort Wellington was apparently dismantled in the course of the winter (*Private letter books*, XIII, 993: Macdonald to Colonel Robertson-Ross, confidential, Jan. 29, 1870).

month of October I trust the alarm will subside—but we have still 3 weeks of disquietude before us.¹

The menaces continued, and at long last the Canadian government took the step Windham had urged in vain: the *Rescue* and *Prince Alfred* were made ready for service, and volunteer artillery called out to man their guns.² The manner in which these measures were taken, however, gave Windham another legitimate grievance, added to the fact that the tiny detachment at Prescott was not placed under his command. He complained to Young:

Lt.Col. Earle [the general's military secretary] on his return from Ottawa informed me that it is not intended to place this detachment under my Command, and though I doubt the Expediency of allowing a precedent to be established of any Troops whatever holding a Post, or being embodied for duty who do not look to me for orders, I do not desire to raise the point upon this occasion, more especially as I should have felt myself bound to protest against the relief of 200 Regulars by 24 Volunteers only.

There is another subject however which I wish to touch upon, and I trust that I may not be considered as improperly thrusting myself into the Militia arrangements of the Dominion in so doing. I see by the Newspapers that certain measures as regards Gun boats on the Lakes have been taken. From this, and from what Lt.Col. Earle has told me by desire of your Excellency, I learn that the Canadian Government is still apprehensive of a Fenian inroad. Indeed from what I saw last summer of the indisposition of the Canadian Government to incur expense in preparations, I infer that it is believed at Ottawa that an attack at an early date is really considered probable.

I do not know the exact nature of the preparations made about Gun-Boats or other matters, but as the entire Military Authority over all the Troops, whether Regular or Militia in the event of Canada being assailed, rests with the Genl. Officer in Command, I consider that he should be allowed to have a voice in all preparations for defence.

Your Excellency is aware that I cannot divest myself of the responsibility which attaches to my Command nor of that which in the event of any disaster however small, whether to Regulars or Volunteers will be laid upon me by the Public both here and at home.³

It may be presumed that the ministers' promise to call out volunteers in the event of their communicating further information

¹G. vol. 573 A, p. 169: Young to Granville, confidential, Oct. 14. The "volunteers" expected to join the Fenians would, of course, come from the United States. Young gave O'Neill, "a vain ambitious man", credit for being in earnest in the invasion project (*ibid.*, p. 173: Young to Granville, confidential, Oct. 25).

²*Globe*, Oct. 19, 20; C, vol. 184, p. 111: Adjutant-general to minister of militia, Oct. 28.

³C, vol. 1319, p. 353: Windham to Young, Oct. 22.

on Fenian activity to the general accounts for their failure to advise him that they had given orders for manning the gunboats. The absurdity of a system under which the general of the forces first learned of important defensive measures taken by the government from the newspapers needed no demonstration; and Windham (who seems, indeed, to have been almost pathetically anxious to cultivate the close relations with the Canadian ministers which were so desirable) was soon able to report home that he had received satisfactory assurances of better information in the future. "Indeed", he added, "the Countenance & support accorded to me on all occasions by Sir John Young, and his personal kindness to me, not only made it very easy for me to open these questions, but are a guarantee that I shall be kept fully informed of all the precautionary measures of his Government."¹ There was never any doubt of the governor-general's position in these disputes.

Sir Charles Windham's troubles with colonial ministers, however, were at an end. His health was failing (the weight of responsibility for the integrity of a thousand miles or so of open frontier, under the conditions just sketched, was not calculated to promote robustness); and he obtained leave to seek strength in the warm south. In this quest he failed. He died at Jacksonville in Florida, on February 2, 1870.² "Sir Charles Windham is much regretted", wrote Macdonald. "His amiability and kindness of heart made him a great favorite."³

In his place there came to Canada Lieutenant-General the Hon. James Lindsay, charged particularly with the arrangements for the Red River Expedition, then pending, and for the withdrawal of the troops from Canada. Macdonald hailed his appointment with quite unusual enthusiasm:

... General Lindsay, who commanded the Brigade of Guards here some years ago is coming out to take command. Lindsay is a good soldier and a first rate fellow. He comes from a line of heroes. He is a son of the Earl of Crawford and Balcarres & brother of Lord Lindsay who has written so much and so well. His lives of the Lindsays in which he records the deeds of his family is a charming book.⁴

¹C, vol. 1287, p. 368: Windham to secretary of state for war, Nov. 5.

²*Ibid.*, note, p. 404.

³*Private letter books*, XIV, 10: Macdonald to General Doyle, Feb. 22, 1870. Windham had served in Canada in 1838, in the Crimea (where he distinguished himself in the attack on the Redan), and in the Indian Mutiny (*Dictionary of national biography*, LXII). The *Dictionary* is apparently in error in giving Feb. 4 as the date of his death.

⁴*Private letter books*, XIV, 20: To General Davis, Doylestown, Pennsylvania, Feb. 23, 1870.

Surely this well-connected warrior (who moreover "knows the Country and the people well & has always got on admirably with our volunteers"¹) will be able to co-operate amicably with the Canadian government, if anyone can! And yet just three months later we find Lindsay complaining to the War Office of that government's attitude of lethargy and obstructiveness towards his preparations for the march to Fort Garry.² It was comparatively easy to get on with Canadian volunteers; Canadian politicians were sometimes a different matter.

C. P. STACEY

¹*Ibid.*: Macdonald to General Doyle, Feb. 22.

²*C*, vol. 1287, p. 439: Lindsay to secretary of state for war, May 27, 1870.

NOTES AND DOCUMENTS

ENGLISH INTEREST IN THE FUR-TRADE OF HUDSON BAY BEFORE 1670

IN the century before the founding of the Hudson's Bay Company, English adventurers were active in northern seas. Their expeditions contributed greatly to the exploration of the north, but it is a question whether they promoted directly English trade in North America. Eagerness for trade, it is well known, kept alive the search for the North-west passage, but one wonders if the searchers discovered the trading possibilities of the Hudson Bay area, or began to establish the contacts with the natives that proved essential to the later English fur-trade in that region. If an English fur-trade existed before Groseilliers's venture of 1668, some evidence of it should appear in the journals and diaries of the seamen. An investigation of the narratives published by the Hakluyt Society indicates the commercial motives underlying many of the expeditions, but does not show profits from furs.

Although it is very probable that, from the time of Sebastian Cabot, something was known of Hudson Strait,¹ the record of journeys to the seas north of Labrador starts with the voyages of Martin Frobisher.² He was instrumental, too, in promoting the first company to trade in what are now northern Canadian waters. This company was named "The Adventurers to the North-West for the Discovery of a North-West Passage" or "The Company of Kathai". It sent out four expeditions between 1576 and 1583 to discover the northern passage and to develop the trade *en route*. Frobisher, however, missed the entrance to Hudson Strait, and his mining ventures were unsuccessful. Davis, Weymouth, and Knight did not make any commercial progress, although Weymouth and Knight were sent out by the

¹James A. Williamson, *The voyages of the Cabots and the English discovery of North America under Henry VII and Henry VIII* (London, 1929), part II, chapter ix: "Sebastian Cabot's search for the North west passage".

²R. Collinson (ed.), *The three voyages of Martin Frobisher, in search of a passage to Cathaia and India by the North-west, A.D. 1576-8*, reprinted from the first edition of Hakluyt's voyages, with selections from manuscript documents in the British Museum and State Paper Office (Works issued by the Hakluyt Society, London, 1867 [series 1, no. 38]).

Muscovy and East India Companies.¹ It remained for Henry Hudson to reach first the western end of the strait to which his name was given, and to initiate the fur-trade of the north.

Later experience was to show the dependence of successful trade upon friendship with the Indians. It was the tragedy of Hudson's voyage that he failed to win the confidence of the one native he met, according to Abacuk Prickett's account of the events of 1611:

About this time, when the ice began to breake out of the bayes, there came a savage to our ship, as it were to see and to bee seene, being the first that we had seene in all this time; whom our master intreated well, and made much of him, promising unto himselfe great matters by his meanes, and therefore would have all the knives and hatchets (which any man had) to his private use, but received none but from John King the carpenter and my selfe. To this savage the master gave a knife, a looking-glasse, and buttons, who received them thankfully, and made signes that after hee had slept he would come againe, which hee did. When hee came hee brought with him a sled, which hee drew after him, and upon it two deeres skinnes, and two beaver skinnes. Hee had a scrip under his arme, out of which hee drew those things which the master had given him. Hee tooke the knife and laid it upon one of the beaver skinnes, and his glasses and buttons upon the other, and so gave them to the master who received them, and the savage tooke those things which the master had given him, and put them up into his scrip againe. Then the master shewed him an hatchet, for which hee would have given the master one of his deerer skinnes, but our master would have them both, and so hee had although not willingly. After many signes of people to the north and to the south, and that after so many sleepes he would come again he wente his way, but never came more.²

Hudson had been financed by the Muscovy and East India Companies and twenty-three adventurers. Believing that the *Discovery* had found the North-west passage, these men organized a company to secure the monopoly of trade through its waters. With two hundred and sixty-five associates they were incorporated in 1612 as a "body corporate and politique" under the name of "The Governor and Company of the Merchants of London, Discoverers of the North-West Passage". The terms of their

¹Weymouth was sent in 1602 by the East India Company. The two companies joined in despatching Knight in 1606. See C. C. A. Gosch (ed.), *Danish Arctic expeditions, 1605 to 1620* (Hakluyt Society, 1897 [series 1], no. 97), II, lxxvi ff. Knight's journal is reprinted in C. R. Markham (ed.), *The voyages of Sir James Lancaster and the voyage of Captain John Knight* (Hakluyt Society, 1877 [series 1], no. 56), 279-294.

²G. M. Asher (ed.), *Henry Hudson the navigator: The original documents in which his career is recorded collected, partly translated and annotated* (Hakluyt Society, 1860 [series 1, no. 27]), 114-5.

charter, which was very similar to that of the East India Company, provided for the direction of the company by a governor and committee of twenty-seven members, the first governor being Sir Thomas Smith. The company was allowed to send out ships, to assess fines, and to sell merchandise. All other traders, English or foreign, were forbidden to visit or trade in "ye said northwest passage nor ye lands, signiories, and dominions thereunto adioyning". The territories covered by the charter were even more extensive than those granted to the Hudson's Bay Company later. They were interpreted as including not only the lands within Hudson and Davis Straits but also undefined regions extending to the south sea.¹ The company was very active in the next few years in its attempts to develop its extensive trading privileges.

Four expeditions were outfitted for the north, under Button in 1612-3, under Gibbons in 1614, under Bylot and Baffin in 1615, and under Baffin in 1616. Button and Baffin advanced the cause of northern exploration, but did not secure a great volume of trade.² Of the two, Baffin was, probably, the more interested in the trading possibilities of the northern seas; the testimony of the journals of his expeditions, therefore, is significant.

Baffin had been with James Hall to Greenland in 1612, on "a purely English voyage undertaken solely for commercial purposes". The quartermaster, John Gatonbe, had kept a brief journal from April 10 to July 8 in which he had made a few references to traffic with the natives. Thus on June 13, Hall bought two young seals; during the first week in July the men were wind-bound, "we buying of the salvages such things as they

¹For the charter, see Miller Christy (ed.), *The voyages of Captain Luke Foxe of Hull and Captain Thomas James of Bristol, 1631-32; with narratives of the earlier North-west voyages of Frobisher, Davis, Weymouth, Hall, Knight, Hudson, Button, Gibbons, Bylot, Baffin, Hawkrigge and others* (Hakluyt Society, 1894 [series 1], no. 89), II, app. D. The terms are discussed in I, xxxv ff.

²The instructions issued to Sir Thomas Button indicate that the main purpose of his voyage was exploration of the passage to the south sea. See Thomas Rundall (ed.), *Narratives of voyages towards the north-west, in search of a passage to Cathay and India, 1496 to 1631* (Hakluyt Society, 1849, [series I, no. 5]), 82-5. He was the first Englishman to explore the east coast of Hudson Bay, and the first to winter successfully there. His 1612-3 camp was on the north shore of the Nelson River (see map in J. B. Tyrrell [ed.], *Documents relating to the early history of Hudson Bay*, Champlain Society, 1931), but in order that his men might be preserved from the "Treacherie and villanie of the SALUAGES" he had been directed to have little intercourse with the natives, and therefore could not develop the fur-trade: "... where ever you arrive have as little to doe with them as maye be, onlie if the STRAIGHTS it self afford noe sufficient strength[?] you shalbe happie in finding out some convenient parte on the back of AMERICA or some Island in the South Sea for a haven or stacon for our shippes and marchandizes hereafter; but yet spend as little time as maie be in this or any other searche, saving of the passage till you have dispatched the PYNNACE wth advertisement of your entrie into the South Sea. . . ."

brought us, being fresh fish, namely salmon-trout, muskfish, codfish, and butfish, a little quantity serving for our victuals". Later they traded old iron for two barrels of salmon trout, "darts seals skins and for some unicorns horns".¹ They were looking for whales in order that they might get "something for the profit of the voyage", but were unsuccessful.² Sir Thomas Smith, who was prominent in the Muscovy Company and was also the first governor of the East India Company, probably hoped that the new company organized in 1612 would repeat in North American waters the success of the Muscovy Company in the Spitzbergen fishery.³ Baffin in 1613-4 sailed with the fleets of the Muscovy Company to Spitzbergen, and in 1615 made his first trip to Hudson Strait, as mate on the *Discovery*.

The master, Robert Bylot, brought the ship to anchor at Resolution Island on June 1, after a voyage of two and a half months. The men tried to communicate with the natives who were very timid. Baffin noted that their tents, dogs, and boats were like those of Greenland, and "beinge returned to theare tents, we found some whale finnes to the number of 14 or 15, which I took aboard, leauinge kniues, bedes, and counters insteede thereof".⁴ The greater part of July was spent in exploring Foxe Channel and the north-eastern shore of Southampton Island to determine whether a passage existed here. When a "store of morse" was seen, Bylot suggested they hunt these but Baffin thought they should push on to investigate the "tyde of floud" at Nottingham. The "morse" were "fearefull and beaten with salvages", he argued, and the expedition was "bound for discovery".⁵

The object of the voyage in 1615, therefore, was exploration not commerce, and Baffin's conclusion was that the route to the east did not lie through Hudson Strait:

... doubtles theare is a passadge. But within this straye whome is called Hudson's Straytes, I am doubtfull, supposinge the con-

¹Clements R. Markham (ed.), *The voyages of William Baffin, 1612-1622* (Hakluyt Society, 1881 [series I], no. 63), 15, 19.

²References to trade occur in the journal of Captain James Hall's voyage, *Danish Arctic expeditions*, I, 96, 98, 102, 104, 105, 106, 109, but it was on a small scale. Apparently one of the main objects of the voyage was to discover the supposed silver mines of Greenland (*The voyages of William Baffin*, 22, 25, 33). Baffin decided that, "If there bee any metall, it lyeth so low in the mountaynes that it cannot bee well come by" (*ibid.*, 33-4).

³The life of Sir Thomas Smith is outlined in Markham's introduction to *The voyages of William Baffin*, ii ff.

⁴*Ibid.*, 118.

⁵*Ibid.*, 133-4.

trarye. But whether there be, or no, I will not affirme. But this I will affirme, that we haue not beene in any tyde then that from Resolution Iland, and the greatest indraft of that commeth from Daus Straytes; and my judgment is, if any passadge within Resolution Iland, it is but som creeke or in lett, but the mayne will be upp fretum Daus; . . .¹

Accordingly, the next year, the *Discovery* set sail for Davis Strait. By May 30, she had reached Davis's farthest point, Hope Sanderson, between 72° and 73°. The crew had already secured 160 "finnes" from a dead whale.² Soon they fell in with some natives and traded pieces of iron for seal-skins and blubber. On June 12 the ice in 73° 45' forced the *Discovery* to put into shore:

Here wee continued two dayes without shew or signe of any people; till, on the fifteenth day in the morning, about one a clocke, there came two and fortie of the inhabitants in their boates, or canoas, and gaue vs seale skinned, and many peeces of the bone or horne of the sea vnicorne, and shewed vs diuers peeces of sea mors teeth, making signes that to the northward were many of them; in exchange thereof we gaue them small peeces of iron, glasse beads, and such like. At foure seuerall times the people came to vs, and at each time brought vs of the aforesaid commodities, by reason thereof we called this place Horne Sound.³

When the ship was free from the ice, "fishes with long hornes" and great numbers of whales were seen. But evidently the object this year was not whaling, for Baffin remarked, "doubtlesse, if we had beene provided for killing of them, we might haue strooke very many".⁴ From Smith Sound the *Discovery* sailed southward along the west side of the bay, past Jones and Lancaster Sounds to Cumberland Iles. There Baffin wrote:

. . . now seeing that wee had made an end of our discovery, and the yeare being too farre spent to goe for the bottom of the bay to search for drest finnes; therefore wee determined to goe for the coast of Groineland to see if we could get some refreshing for our men. . . .⁵

Thence the ship returned to England, and on August 30 anchored "at Douer in the roade, for the which and all other His blessings the Lord make vs thankful".

As a result of this venture, Baffin reported to Sir John Wolstenholme that "there is no passage nor hope of passage in the north of Davis Straights". The ice, the lack of fuel, and foul weather,

¹*Ibid.*, 137.

²*Ibid.*, 140-1.

³*Ibid.*, 143. He was near Cape Shackleton.

⁴*Ibid.*, 143, 145.

⁵*Ibid.*, 148. This was July 25.

he thought, were hindrances to profitable voyages, but whales, "sea-morse", and sea-unicorns could be found in sufficient numbers.¹

Thus the expeditions of the merchant adventurers organized in 1612 failed to discover the North-west passage, nor did they open up a profitable trade with the countries *en route*. For a time English ventures ceased. Until Foxe and James re-opened the search in 1631, the only expedition to search for the elusive western sea through Hudson Strait, was the Danish one captained by Jens Munk.² Munk failed miserably. He saw natives in the strait, but after reaching the bay, he saw only evidences that men had lived near where he wintered at the mouth of Churchill River.³ When the ice had cleared so that he could return to Europe, only two of his men still lived, and it was with difficulty that the three survivors reached Denmark. Munk apparently planned a second voyage to the bay, intending to take with him settlers to conduct a trade in furs at the mouth of the Churchill, but his schemes came to nought.⁴

The Foxe and James expeditions of 1631 were of importance for they closed the gap in the exploration of the west coast between the mouth of the Nelson River and Cape Henrietta Maria and supplied additional information regarding Foxe Channel, but they were of no definite commercial value. For Foxe, although he made observations of the animal and plant life of the country, did not come in contact with natives with whom he might have traded,⁵ and James seemed too impressed by the hazards of navigation in the region of Hudson Bay to succeed in starting the trade desired by the merchants of Bristol.⁶

Following these disappointing voyages, for thirty years no English adventurers attempted to explore or trade in Hudson Strait or Bay. The next expedition from the British Isles, that of Groseilliers in 1668, was not one of exploration in the hope that

¹*Ibid.*, 149 ff.: Baffin to Wolstenholme (n.d.).

²William Hawkrige may have led an expedition in 1619 (*Danish Arctic expeditions*, II, lxxxvi ff.).

³*Ibid.*, 13, 28-9.

⁴*Ibid.*, xxxvii ff.

⁵*Voyages of Foxe and James to the North-west*, cxxx.

⁶The Bristol merchants sought trading privileges similar to those given to Foxe. They were successful, for the master of requests sent them a letter dated Feb. 3, 1630 (31), stating: "His Matie is graciously pleased, for the furtherance of the said discovery, to graunt to the petitioners such equall Liberties and privileges of trade as are already granted to the adventurers of the Citty of London for that purpose. And, yf the said discovery bee made by either of them, then the Adventurers of both the said Citties are to trade hereafter, and to haue advantage accordinge to the proporcon of their seuerall adventures."

trade would follow, but was a definite commercial undertaking. From now on, exploration with the bay as a base seems to have been subordinate to commercial interest.

The journals of the early explorers of the regions about Hudson Strait show that these men had some interest in trade, but the traffic they engaged in was not extensive and did not include bartering with the natives for furs. The charter of the company of 1612 and that of the English Company of Adventurers to Canada (organized in 1627 to capture the fur-trade of the northern part of the continent from the French) indicate that Englishmen hoped for great things from trading in the lands north of the English colonies, but the English northern trade in furs—which offered a more lucrative prospect than traffic in commodities supplied by the Eskimos—did not begin until Radisson and Groseilliers made their contact with the southern Indians, the Indians of the James Bay district.

DOROTHY E. LONG

A DOCUMENT CONCERNING THE UNION OF THE HUDSON'S BAY
COMPANY AND THE NORTH WEST COMPANY

THE document printed below is part of a draft of an indenture between the Right Honourable Edward Ellice and the executors of the estate of John Mure. Very little is known of Mure. He is described as a merchant of Quebec, and was the Quebec correspondent of one of the many fur-trading firms. The original of the indenture is in the possession of Major Edward Ellice, D.S.O., of London, England, who kindly lent it to the present writer. The indenture is dated August 1, 1832, and is entitled: "Matthew Bell Esqre and Others.—to Edward Ellice Esq. Draft Assignment of the Interst of Jno Mure Esq dec[ease]d, in the United North West Compy & Covenant of Indemnity." There is no evidence whether this draft was finally signed, but marginal notes and changes in the text indicate that it was checked by the solicitors of both parties. In any case the value of the document lies in its elaborate recitals of various agreements concerning the major fur-trading firms operating in the now Canadian west. The parts of the document here printed include only the descriptions of the agreements of 1821 and 1824, inasmuch as the remaining portions either concern only the personal affairs of Mure, or deal with agreements the terms of which are already

known. It may be well, however, to outline the scope and purpose of the whole indenture.

John Mure was a partner in the "New North West Company", or X Y Company. In 1804 the new and old North West Companies coalesced, under an agreement¹ which is recited. By this agreement the hundred shares of the united company were so divided that the X Y partners received twenty-five. A subsequent agreement between the X Y partners themselves arranged for the allocation of their shares. As a result of this, Mure, jointly with John Ogilvy, received two money shares and one indemnity share (of which there were four). After the death of Ogilvy his rights passed to Mure; and after the death of Mure his executors and administrators, sold Mure's rights to Edward Ellice for £3118. It was to embody the terms of the sale that this indenture was drawn up. The section of the indenture which is quoted below describes in part the union agreement of 1821 and the subsequent agreement of 1824 which superseded it. The importance of the union and its terms, not only for the negotiators but for the future of the west, are well known facts in Canadian history. The true nature of the circumstances leading to the union has, however, been wrapped in uncertainty and is only gradually coming to light. Any item which will assist in piecing together the story is, therefore, of value.

On one point—the relative distress of the two companies in the years immediately preceding the union—it is already apparent that the long accepted view of historians must be modified. The Montreal traders had, since the conquest of Canada, taken over the business and methods of the French fur-traders. The problem of the loss from the competition between themselves they attempted to solve by the pooling of interest in the North West "Company"; but they were still faced with effective competition from the Hudson's Bay Company. Whether or not the Nor'Westers showed superior energy and resourcefulness, as has been sometimes claimed, they suffered more than their rivals from the relentless competition in the fur-trade. Both companies saw their profits changing into losses, but it was the Nor' Westers who sued for peace. Perhaps the chief reason for the strength of the Hudson's Bay Company was its lower cost of transportation. The carriage of furs and goods for more than the whole length of the St. Lawrence waterway and the Great Lakes,

¹Printed in R. Masson, *Les Bourgeois de la Compagnie du Nord Ouest*, II, 482.

efficiently as it was conducted, was necessarily more expensive than the sea-route to the factories on the bay. This advantage proved very real under the strain of excessive competition which grew out of the Red River settlement. There may have been other reasons; but it is certain that the firms making up the North West Company were virtually bankrupt when in 1821 they asked for a coalition of the fur-trading companies.

The McGillivrays and Edward Ellice met in London and began negotiations. The wintering partners, too, sent separate agents on the same mission, but they were not accepted as envoys. Both William McGillivray and his younger brother Simon had long been in the North West Company. Edward Ellice, too, was, amongst other things, a partner in that organization. These three men, in effect the directors, succeeded in making terms with the governor and company which were subsequently ratified. The two coalescing companies were to provide equal amounts of goods for carrying on the trade, but the division of profits was on a different basis. Of the many North West partners only the McGillivrays and Ellice made any substantial provision for themselves, and in spite of this Simon McGillivray died a poor man. While the Hudson's Bay Company undoubtedly profited both from the ending of competition from Montreal and the infusion of new blood, the continuation of the older name was no idle choice.

G. DET. GLAZEBROOK

WHEREAS in & previous to the Month of March 1821 various disputes had arisen between the s[ai]d United North West Co & the Govr^l & Co of Adventures of Engd trading into the Hudsons Bay commonly called & known by the name or style of The Hudsons Bay Co and for the purpose of putting an end to such disputes Simon McGillivray the sd Wm McGillivray since dec[ease]d & the sd Edwd Ellice entered into an Agreement with the sd Hudsons Bay Co to form a Coalition between the sd United North West Co & the sd Hudsons Bay Compy and accordly by an Ind[entu]re bearing date on or about the 26 day of March 1821 made between the sd Govr & Co of Adventurers of England trading into the Hudsons Bay of the 1st part & the sd Wm McGillivray, Simon McGillivray & Edwd Ellice of the 2d part IT WAS WITNESSED that the

¹In the original document this and other abbreviations are shown by means of superior letters.

sd Govr & Co did th[ere]by Covenant with the sd Parties of the 2d part and the sd p[ar]ties of the 2d part did thby Cov[en]an[t] with the sd Govr & Co among other things THAT the trade in purchasing & receiving by way of Barter from the Indians furs peltries & other articles so theretofe carried on by the sd Govr & Co & the sd North Wt Co respect[ive]ly as aforesd shod for the space of 21 years commencing with the outfitts of the year 1821 & ending with the outfit of the year 1841 & the returns of the last ment[i]one[d] outfit but subject nevertheless to the terms thereafter contained be carried on by & in the name of the sd Govr & Co & their Successors exclusively as well in the territory of the sd Govr & Co as in any other part or parts of North America which might from time to time be fixed upon by the sd Govr & Co or their Successors THAT such trading Goods Provisions & Stores of the sd Govr & Co or their Successors & the sd North West Co resply as on the 1st of June 1821 or at their respect[ive] usual periods next succeeding the date of the now reciting Deed for taking Inventories of the Stock on hand in the Interior of the India Country might remain in hand at the respsive depôts stations or Posts in North America of the sd Govr & Co or their Successors & the sd North Wt Co resply as the part undisposed of to the Indians of the outfit for the year 1820 & remaining according to the usual practice for the outfit or trade of the succeeding year should form part of the Capital Stock for carrying on the sd trade under the now reciting deed & part of the outfit of 1821 & should be taken & valued as then par[ticu]larly ment[i]one[d] And that the sd Govr & Co & the sd Pties of the 2d part shod resply provide an equal Share of the Capital Stock to be employed in carrying on the sd trade and that the clear gains & profits should be divided into 100 equal shares & shod belong to the parties foll[owin]g vizt 20 of the sd Shares should belong to the sd Govr & Co & their Successors 20 others of the sd Shares should belong to the parties of the 2d part their Ex[ecut]ors or Adm[inistrat]ors—40 others of the sd shares should belong to such persons as shod from time to time be by the sd Govr & Co or their Successors appointed Chief Factors & Chief Traders for conducting the sd trade in the Interior of North America & to such persons as shod thereafter be appointed to succeed them—5 others of the sd Shares shod belong to the sd Simon McGillivray & Edwd Ellice their Exors & Admors as a compensation for the emoluments theretofore arising from the agency & Commiss[i]on[s] in London on the account of the sd North Wt Co which agency & Comm[issi]ons wod be lost by their respsive commercial Establishm[en]ts in consequence of the now reciting Agree[m]t & for wch 5 Shares the receipts of the sd S. McGillivray & Edwd Ellice & of the Surv[iv]or of them & the Exors or admors of

such Survivor should from time to time be effectual discharges to the sd Govr & Co & their Successors AND the remaining 10 of the sd Shares should as to one Moiety thereof belong to the sd Govr & Co & their Successors & as to the other Moiety thereof to the sd pties of the 2d part their Exors or Admors subject to the provisions therein after contained concerning the same remaining 10 Shares—AND WHEREAS various other Arrangements were afterwds entered into by the sd Edwd Ellice & the sd Simon McGillivray & Wm McGillivray decd or some of them with the Hudsons Bay Co—AND WHEREAS by another Indre bearing date the 14 day of Sept 1824 the sd Hudsons Bay & the sd Wm. McGillivray Simon McGillivray & Edd Ellice dissolved their sd Partnership—And by another Indre bearing date the 15th day of Sept 1824 IT was agreed that the Capital of the sd Partnership with the Hudsons Bay Co: shod be or be made up to be £400,000 of the Stock known by the name of the Hudsons Bay Stock & shod subject & without prejudice to the rights of the persons claiming or to claim in respect of the sd 40 shares go & belong as to the Sum of £225,000 Stock part of the sd £400,000 to the Members of the sd Compy other than & except the sd Wm McGillivray Simon McGillivray & Edwd Ellice—And as to the sum of £175,000 Stock residue of the sd Sum of £400,000 Stock unto & equally between the sd Wm McGillivray Simon McGillivray & Edd Ellice—AND that for the purpose of ascertaining from time to time the gains & profits or as the case might be the losses of the sd Trade to be carried on by the sd Gov. & Co: with a view to the 40 shares appropriated by the sd Deed Poll as afsd such General Account as was prescribed by the sd Indre of the 26th day of March 1821 shod on the 1st day of June 1825 & or every succeeding 1st of June until the 1st day of June 1843 be stated & made out in the same manner with respect to the matters therein cont[aine]d as the same would have been stated & made out in case the sd Partnership concern had continued during the sd Term of 21 yrs—AND WHEREAS by another Indenture of the same date endorsed on the sd last mentd Indre & made between the sd Simon McGillivray of the one part & the sd Edwd Ellice of the other part & afterwds acquiesced in by the sd Wm McGillivray the sd parties regulated as between themselves the proportions in which they would be entitled to the sum of £150,000 [*sic*: should it not be £125,000?] Hudsons Bay Stock—And by another Indre also of the same date & made between the sd Govr & Co: of the 1st part the sd Wm McGillivray Simon McGillivray & Edwd Ellice of the 2d pt & Jno Pelly Nichs Garry Ebenezer Ferney & Russell Ellice¹ of the 3d pt certain o[the]r Arrange-

¹These were Hudson's Bay men. Pelly became governor and Garry deputy governor.

ments were made with respect to the sum of £50,000 Hudsons Bay Stock part of the sd sum of £175,000 Stock wh[ere]by the sd £50,000 Stock was to be inscribed in the names of the sd Jno Pelly Nichols Garry Ebenr Ferney & Russell Ellice—Upon certain Trusts therein par[ticular]ly ment[ione]d—AND WHE[RE]AS the sd £50,000 Hudsons Bay Stock was accordingly transferred in the Books of the sd Compy into the names of sd John Pelly Nichols Garry Ebenr Ferney & Russell Ellice—AND the residue of the sd Stock being the Sum of £125,000 Stock was transferred into the names of the sd Wm McGillivray Simon McGillivray & Edwd Ellice in equal proportions—that is to say—the sum of £41666: 13: 4 sd Stock into each of their respective names AND WHEAS the sd Jno Ogilvy who some time since dep[arte]d this life did in his life time by proper Deeds or Instruments ex[ecu]ted by him for that purpose or other acts in the Law assign transfer & make over unto the sd Jno Mure ALL & sing[ula]r his the sd Jno Ogilvy's right share & Interest of & in the sd respective Partnerships.

REVIEW ARTICLE

RECENT GERMAN BOOKS RELATING TO CANADA¹ WITH SOME REMARKS ON EARLY PUBLICATIONS

The German student of things Canadian, having no knowledge of English and French, is not thrown into perplexity by an *embarras de richesse* of German books. He may thus, perhaps, avoid the difficulty of not being able to see the wood for the trees, since the dominion, with the exception of a few publications, largely escaped the attention of German authors until after the War. The presence of a great Canadian army on the Western Front helped, no doubt, to draw German attention to Canada. Till then she was generally regarded as an English colony somewhere in the cold part of North America, and the shadow of the United States had kept her in the background. Since the War her rise to a position of importance in the world of economics, the growing share she had in German imports, her signature on the Treaty of Versailles, her seat in the League of Nations, her potentialities as a field of immigration have done much to bring her into the spot-light in Germany. For some twenty years before the War the few German books on the dominion were mainly on economic subjects, their appearance being partly due to the Canadian-German tariff war. About the middle of the last century some volumes were published on travel and military subjects such as German auxiliary troops in Canada. There have been, and still are, published a number of German papers on Indian folk-lore and ethnography. I must, however, reserve for a future date any attempt to deal at length with publications relating to Canada, and limit myself now to indicating a few important German books of the pre-War period.

One of the earliest is that remarkable journal by the Brunswick army-chaplain F. B. Melsheimer, *Tagebuch von der Reise der braunschweig'*

¹*Einwanderung in Kanada nach dem Kriege.* By GERDA NEUFELD. Berlin: Dr. Emil Ebering Verlag. 1931. Pp. 51.

Der kanadische Weizenpool. By HANS KAUFMANN. Berlin and Vienna: Industrie-Verlag Spaeth und Linde. 1932. Pp. x, 234. (M 4.50)

Die Standardisierung landwirtschaftlicher und gartenbaulicher Erzeugnisse in den Vereinigten Staaten von Amerika und in Kanada. By KURT RITTER and WERNER LUDEWIG. Berlin: Paul Parey. 1931. Pp. vi, 283. (M 18.50)

Amerika: Untergang an Ueberfluss. By A. E. JOHANN. Berlin: Ullstein. 1932. Pp. 256. (M 5.50)

Auf Wilden Pfaden im Neuen Kanada. By ARNIM O. HUBER. Stuttgart: Strecker und Schroeder. 1931. Pp. 239. (M 3.75)

Roten und Weissen Abenteurern in Kanada. By ARNIM O. HUBER. Stuttgart: Strecker und Schroeder. 1932. Pp. 179. (M 3.75)

Canadisches Nocturno. Ein Trapper Idyll in nordlicher Wildnis. By C. MEHRHARDT-IHLOW. Berlin: Paul Parey. 1932. Pp. 182. (M 5.40)

14 Jahre unter Engländern: Ein Auswandererschicksal in Kanada. By KARL KARGER. Vol. 1. Breslau 2: The Author. 1926. Pp. xv, 218.

Der Schwarzer Waldläufer: Lebensbild des Indianerapostels Albert Lacombe O.M.I. By P. THEODOR SCHÄFER. Paderborn: Ferdinand Schöningh Verlag. 1932. Pp. 328. (M 5)

schen Auxiliar Truppen von Wolfenbuettel nach Quebec (Minden, 1776),¹ chiefly concerned with the transport of Brunswick auxiliaries to Canada, the author's impressions of Quebec, and a meeting between General Carleton and some Indian chiefs. Then there is Gottfried Seume's *Mein Leben* (Leipzig, 1813), relating—*inter alia*—his experience as a victim of a Hessian press gang in 1780 which led to his being sent to Quebec where he stayed till 1783. To this adventure we owe not only the first German poem (*Der Wilde*) on a Canadian subject, but one of the first poems on Quebec; indeed, as far as I know, the first. As it was included in most German school anthologies till about twenty-five years ago and was very popular, many lines became household words. It made the names Canada and Quebec familiar to the fathers and grandfathers of the present generation, and convinced them that Canada was a country of "ice-decked woods" where the people lived on "lobsters, salmon, and the ham of bear". I cannot resist the temptation of quoting a few of those lines once so dear to the German.

Ein Kanadier, der noch Europens
Uebertuente Hoeslichkeit nicht kannte
Und ein Herz, wie Gott es ihm gegeben,
Brachte, was er mit des Bogens Sehne
Fern von Quebecs uebereisten Waeldern
Auf der Jagd erbeutet, zum Verkaufe.

Canadian historians are familiar with Baroness Riedesel's *Die Berufsreise nach Amerika* (Berlin, 1800-1) which probably inspired M. von Elking's *Die deutsche Huelfstruppen im nordamerikanischen Befreiungskriege 1776-1783* (Hanover, 1863), as well as his life of General von Riedesel (Leipzig, 1856). *Historische und Geographische Beschreibung von Neu Schottland* (Frankfort und Leipzig, 1750), and Christian Leiste's *Beschreibung des Brittischen Amerika zur Ersparung der englischen Karten* (Wolfenbuettel, 1778) are two rare books. The former is the first example of Canadian immigration literature in German, and is a translation of an English official booklet on Nova Scotia issued by order of parliament. The translation was, I presume, inspired by Cornwallis, the governor of Nova Scotia. Certainly it was circulated in Germany and induced several German families to emigrate to Halifax and Lunenburg. That father of Canadian continental emigration, Mr. John Dick, who was stationed at Rotterdam, must have found the book very useful. A certain Köhler, a sub-agent for immigration in Frankfort, is said to have translated it.² The latter book by Leiste is a descriptive work with an extensive geographical background and meant to "replace English maps". Various spots in Canada are described for the benefit of those German families having soldier relations and friends there to give them an idea of the country. Such books are

¹The journal was translated by W. L. Stone in the *Annual report* (1891) of the *Literary and Historical Society of Quebec*. The society has a copy of the journal. This journal should be read in conjunction with an anonymous letter by a young man of some education who was a victim of a Hessian press gang. He was taken to Halifax. The letter is dated "Hallifax" (*sic!*) 1782, and is printed on pp. 362-381 in the *Neue Litteratur und Voelkerkunde* (Leipzig, 1789). Beyond mention of a terrible voyage there are some interesting notes on Halifax.

²H. Lehmann, *Zur Geschichte des Deutschtums in Kanada* (Stuttgart, 1931), 21.

veritable Canadian *incunabula*. Early Canadian literature to encourage foreign immigration is a subject that has received scarcely any attention from historians of the dominion and offers a fruitful field of investigation.

Of travel books there were Th. Pavie's *Atlantische Erinnerungen: Reisebilder aus Canada und den Vereinigten Staaten von Nord Amerika* (Brunswick, 1834), and J. G. Kohl's *Reisen in Canada* (Stuttgart, 1856),¹ the most complete and informative book of travel in Canada that had been published till then, and still a valuable source of information. Later E. von Hesse-Wartegg wrote his impression of Canada, *Kanada und Neufundland* (Freiburg, 1888) in which considerable attention is devoted to cultural questions. Along extensive lines in geography there were Karl Andree's *Nord Amerika* (Brunswick, 1851) and E. Deckert's *Nordamerik* (Leipzig, 1892). Both have run into several editions, and, of course, only devote a section to British North America. There are two important books dealing with Canadian economic conditions, M. Sering's classic *Die landwirtschaftliche Konkurrenz Nord-amerikas in Gegenwart und Zukunft* (Leipzig, 1887), and A. Fleck's *Kanada* (Jena, 1912). The latter is the first complete modern work on Canadian economics in any language. This was reviewed in the CANADIAN HISTORICAL REVIEW which, indeed, since its inception in 1895 as the *Review of historical publications relating to Canada* has drawn its net closer and closer so that few German (or other) publications relating to Canada of any note since that time have escaped either notice or review.

Since the War, as a glance at the volumes of this REVIEW will show, the number of German publications dealing with Canada has grown steadily if slowly, and among them are some theses for the Ph.D. They are partly due to the influence of the late Dr. Dibelius. At the time of his death he was writing a book about Canada designed as a counterpart of his *England*. Unluckily only a few chapters were completed. These, together with a great number of notes, especially on Canadian literature, which are too fragmentary to permit of editing, will, as far as I am informed, not be published. Had this original thinker, with his ability to cast new light on facts and institutions, lived to complete his book he would doubtless have shown us the dominion in as novel an aspect as flood-lighting does a familiar building. Canada, during her history, has passed rapidly through phases of development which in northern Europe occupied centuries. It will be the duty of the historian to show how she has conquered the soil, utilized her natural resources, assimilated her immigrants, and created her own institutions, manners, literature, and art. The expression "a nation in the making" covers all this, but we want to see how the nation emerges from the embryo state and takes form. Dr. Dibelius might have given us something of this from the point of view of a German observer. None of the recently published German books attempts so ambitious a task or reaches the standard which he, no doubt, would have attained. They are, however, as the remainder of this article will indicate, an evidence of the growing interest in Canada on the part of German readers and writers.

¹English translation of Mrs. Percy Sinnett, *Travels in Canada, through the States of New York and Pennsylvania* (London, 1861).

As stated above, the theses for the Ph.D. and other degrees taken on Canadian subjects at German universities have steadily increased in number during recent years. That by Fräulein Neufeld treats emigration to Canada since the War. While there are no important mistakes of commission, there are several of omission, and Fräulein Neufeld presents nothing new on the subject. What she does say has indeed been said better and with much more originality, for example, by Mr. W. A. Carrothers (*Emigration from the British Isles*, London, 1929), Mr. Robert England (*The Central European immigrant in Canada*, Toronto, 1929), and Mr. C. K. Young (*The Ukrainian Canadians*, Toronto, 1931), to mention only three recent important works not even consulted by the author. A bibliography is given, but it contains many books either of no value, such as Max Otto's notorious *In canadischer Wildnis* (Berlin, 1924; reviewed in CANADIAN HISTORICAL REVIEW, V, 77), or such as are not connected with the subject of emigration. It is not my desire to carp, and we all know how easy it is to pick holes in another person's work, but the fact cannot be emphasized too much that a doctoral thesis, if it is to be worthy of its purpose, must be the result of original research and must throw new light on the subject it deals with. It is not sufficient that the work is more or less the first of its kind in the language in which it is written. If the requirement of original research is not fulfilled the degree will soon fall into discredit, and the work had better be left to experts. In the case of a doctoral dissertation the blame cannot be laid at the examinee's door but at the examiner's. In many cases the professor sets the student a subject on which he wants information and about which student and professor know next to nothing, the student often being thus allowed to do spade-work for some book which the professor is writing. How, in such circumstances, can the examiners sit in judgment on the theses?

It is quite understandable that Fräulein Neufeld had no opportunity to see preliminary press reports on the seventh census, and thus had to confine herself to the sixth census (1921) for the whole of Canada, but there is no reason for her failure to consult the 1926 census of the Prairie Provinces published in 1927-28, and she would not have had to grope so much in the dark if she had consulted *Origin, birthplace, nationality and language of the Canadian people* (Ottawa, 1929). One would have also expected a thesis by a German on emigration to Canada, and issuing from a German university to have dealt more fully with German emigrants to whom only a couple of pages are devoted. There is material enough to consult. On the other hand, she has recognized that the statistics about the Germans in the dominion are misleading, and she is quite right when she says (p. 41) that a lot of Germans sailed under the Dutch flag in the sixth census, as is soon discovered when we compare the figures of the German population for 1911 and 1921 with those of the Dutch population for the same years: German population 1911, 393,320; 1921, 294,636; Dutch population 1911, 54,986; 1921, 294,636, although only 7,030 Dutch immigrants arrived in Canada between 1911 and 1921 (CANADIAN HISTORICAL REVIEW, X, (353).

Canadian agricultural methods have long been closely watched by German agronomists, and, in particular, the activity of the wheat pools

was reported in the daily press and carefully studied by experts.¹ As Dr. Kaufmann's volume is a publication (no. 4) of the Institut fuer Genossenschaftswesen of the University of Frankfurt-on-the-Main, and as the editor of the series is Professor Hellauer, there is some justification in expecting that it would be a valuable contribution to the literature on co-operation, and it is. The subject has been carefully treated by writers in English,² and the literature is very voluminous, but Dr. Kaufmann's book will have importance as the first to be published in the German language. The work is very carefully done, contains a wealth of information, and is based on an extensive bibliography (22 pages), including roughly 1,000 items. Some of the items might easily have escaped notice; but some are distinctly of a secondary nature as far as the pools are concerned; others do not touch the pools at all, and in some cases important sources have not been consulted.³ The proof-reading has not been well done (thus, e.g.: "ound oathand" (p.26), which I take to mean "out of hand") and there are a few faulty translations, which in some cases illustrate the difficulty of giving an accurate impression to German readers. *Schmutzig* (dirty) for "smutty" (p. 19) is obviously a dictionary translation; the correct rendering is *rostkrank*. *Gehedgt* (p. 48) for "hedged" must be a bit of a puzzler for German readers. The word *Absicht* is not the German for "proposition" in the sentence "vastly different proposition", which should be translated by *Frage*. On page 22 there is a felicitous rendering of the expression "grain sense" by *Fingerspitzengefuehl*, which anyone who knows the difficulties of translation will appreciate. There are some mis-statements which, while they would not mislead Canadians, are very confusing for Germans. Thus, to mention only two, Port Colborne is placed on the Erie Canal (p. 35), Port Midland on Hudson Bay (p. 36).

Dr. Kaufmann's statement (p. 121) that the farmers reduce the area sown to wheat to the full extent of the drop in prices of wheat obtaining in the previous year is only partly true, and the decrease of acreage in wheat in conjunction with low prices is by no means so great ("weitgehendem Masse") nor so immediate as one might suppose, as the following figures for acreage in wheat demonstrate: 1925, 20.7 (millions of acres); 1926, 22.8; 1927, 22.4; 1928, 24.1; 1929, 25.2; 1930, 24.8; 1931, 26.1; 1932, 27.1.⁴ The prairie farmer is an incorrigible

¹Indeed, the work of the pool was dealt with by Professor Schumacher in the annual address to the *Hochschulen* in 1930; *inter alia* he made the following considered statement which students of the pool in Canada and elsewhere would do well to remember: "Trotz diese machtvollen Stellung die er [the pool] auf dem Weltmarkt einnimmt, hat man mit erfreulicher Klarheit erkannt, dass das Ziel nicht eine kuenstliche Preisfestsetzung sondern nur eine Rationalisierung der natuerlichen Preisbildung sein darf."

²See C. R. Fay, *Co-operation at home and abroad* (London, 1925); J. F. Booth, *Co-operative marketing of grain in western Canada* (Washington, 1928); and H. Patton, *Grain growers' co-operation in western Canada* (Cambridge, Mass., 1928) which will probably remain the classic on the subject.

³E.g., L. A. Wood, *A history of farmers' movements in Canada* (Toronto, 1924); W. P. Davisson, *Pooling wheat in Canada* (Ottawa, 1927); C. R. Fay, *Youth and power* (London, 1931); and Miss R. M. MacCurdy, *The history of the California fruit-growers' exchange* (Los Angeles, 1925). It is a pity that the author could not consult D. A. MacGibbon, *The Canadian grain trade* (Toronto, 1932).

⁴Canada year book and Monthly bulletin of agricultural statistics.

optimist and a bit of a gambler. He is ready to take the bad with the good, as a rule, and the result is that the area in wheat is more likely to increase than decrease in the long run. Theoretically it may be true that "the unused tractor costs less to maintain than horses" (p. 125), and it is Dr. Kaufmann's studied opinion that the owner of a tractor will more easily decide to restrict acreage than the farmer with horses. But the problem is not as simple as that, and it is a moot question whether horses are not more profitable on a quarter or half-section than a tractor. The tractor has to be bought with cash; so have horses, but tractors do not breed, and the farmer who breeds his own horses develops his own power and does not have to pay for it in instalments.

The author comes to the conclusion that "it was a mistake on the part of the Pool to maintain that members would get a better price than non-members", and observes that "the question is not, did the members get higher prices, but what would have been the general development if there had been no co-operation?" (p. 128). That is a hypothetical question. Even if the pool no longer functions along the original lines, the history of farmers' movements in western Canada both political and economic—and who will venture to show where the dividing line is?—shows that the idea behind the pool will not die. There will be a "come-back", whether in the shape of a new pool, a wheat board, pegged prices, another method of "orderly marketing", or some modification of the law of land tenure remains to be seen.

Not only do Canadian agricultural co-operative movements interest German economists but the methods of standardization both there and in the United States have been held up as models. Messrs Ritter and Ludewig's book breaks new ground in Germany. It is published under the auspices of the Reichs Ministry of Food and Agriculture. The authors are both professors at the High School of Agriculture, Berlin. Within the last few years German agricultural economists have pointed out how wasteful the present system of agricultural production is in Germany where the idea of a general standardization has not gained much ground, and how necessary a better standardization is to overcome the agricultural crisis which is particularly acute in Germany. There are various factors unfavourable to standardization in that country, chief of which are the many methods of agriculture, the very many differences in soil, climate, and cultural requirements, especially in view of the smallness of the country when measured by North American conceptions of the size of agricultural units. The authors point out that too many different sorts of grain, potatoes, fruit, *etc.*, are grown, and that it is necessary to reduce their number and improve their quality. This would result in better marketing facilities. The book was written to show the American and Canadian methods of marketing and standardization. In the section devoted to the dominion (pp. 236-283) considerable space is given to the marketing of wheat and the various grades of wheat are carefully described. In this connection, be it remarked, the word "plump" is not rendered by the German *roll*, as it should be, but by *plump*, which means "coarse" in English. This is naturally very misleading in a book of this kind. Incidentally, in the preface, the authors complain that there are not even German

terms to distinguish between "to handle", "to market", "to sell", and "to merchandise". But not having a word in German is always easily remedied by coining one, and for to "market" they have formed *vermarkten*. Inspection of wheat in Canada is also treated, but no mention is made of mixing. In the section on apples attention might have been drawn to the fact that Nova Scotia packs in barrels rather than in boxes, whereas Ontario and British Columbia favour boxes.

Probably this is the only book in which all the regulations for standardization of agricultural products in Canada and the United States are included in one volume. The Sub-Committee on Standardization at the Ottawa Conference would have found this book a blessing. Useful as the work is, it could have been made a good deal more useful by the addition of an index. That it is lacking in a German book is, however, not regrettable. Nevertheless, the various grain, vegetable, dairy, and animal products, their packing, marketing, grading, etc., are arranged alphabetically; but that there is no bibliography, and hardly any mention of sources is regrettable. There are so many publications dealing with the subjects treated in the book under review which are widely circulated in Canada, that some of the most important should have been listed.¹ Perhaps the authors were attempting to avoid an *embarras de choix*.

Readers of the CANADIAN HISTORICAL REVIEW have met Herr "Johann" before in a review (CANADIAN HISTORICAL REVIEW, XI, 77-78) dealing with his *Mit zwanzig Dollar in den wilden Westen* (Berlin, 1928), a series of pseudo-veracious adventures in Canada. Since he wrote them he has been travelling about a good deal as a sort of journeyman journalist, and visited America and Canada in 1931 to study "unemployment and communism". He seems to know very much about both. *Amerika: Untergang am Ueberfluss* is the result. The title is sensational (naturally) and means that America has gone into a decline due to an economic surfeit. Pages 13 to 80 deal with Canada, and some interesting remarks may be found if anyone likes to take the trouble to pick them off a sort of economic junk heap. There is some sane, correct, and instructive information about the pools (pp. 16-19).

It is an exaggeration to write that there are hundreds of thousands of unemployed starving in Canada, the greatest wheat-producing country in the world (p. 15), but there is truth enough to justify the quip about the "Widersinn unseres Zeitalters", and, alas! we must admit there is more than an element of truth in the suggestion that the worst thing that can happen to the western farmer is a good wheat crop, if you insert the word "world" before "wheat". Herr Johann is not alone in considering that the appearance of Russian wheat in the world's markets in the autumn of 1929 struck the first blow at the pools (p. 17). Of the many dangers which are always lurking round the corner for the wheat-grower, he says (p. 23): "If really frost spares the tender shoot, rain does not wash it out, wind does not blow it away, hail does not smash it, drought does not scorch it, snow does not clog the thresher, and finally if the price of wheat covers more than the cost of production,

¹The Department of Agriculture, Ottawa, has issued numerous publications such as *Packing apples in barrels*, *Vegetables approved for registration*, *Commercial standard grades of eggs*, *Hog grading*. The provinces, especially Manitoba, have done the same.

then he—the wheat-grower—may get quite rich in a short time; and some have." The author is doubtless right when he remarks that the inflow of immigrants to Canada was checked too late (p. 28). Indeed, this influx turned out to be a contribution to the number of unemployed in the dominion. But it is easy to be wise *post festum*. Canadian geography is not one of Herr Johann's strong points; thus he talks about meeting a friend with whom he worked in a lumber camp in "der nordlichen Cariboo an der Grenze Alaskas" (p. 50). Evidently he means the neighbourhood south of Prince George (British Columbia), which is at least three hundred miles from Alaska as the crow flies. In a final chapter our German observer comes to the conclusion that if the world economic crisis lasts much longer, Canada will be reduced to bankruptcy.

Herr Arnim Huber's two volumes, which are more or less complementary, are a distinct improvement on the few modern German books that are supposed to depict Canadian life on the farm and in the forest such as those by Max Otto, A. E. "Johann", Mueller-Grote, Mehrhardt-Illow, *et hoc genus omne*, all of which have been reviewed in this journal. In the first volume Herr Huber describes his life on a farm near Blaine Lake (Saskatchewan) and afterwards his adventures as a trapper and hunter in what is now Prince Albert National Park, which, by the way, he calls a virgin forest. His style is fluent, and he is a close observer of all those little details that go to make up the sum-total of every-day life. For this reason, although all the material in his books offers nothing new to Canadians and those who know the dominion, the volumes will certainly be instructive for German readers, and the first might be read by would-be emigrants with considerable profit. Indeed, they will probably have a large circulation. In *Auf Wilden Pfaden* Herr Huber exercises considerable restraint, and nearly everything seems credible. Not so in *Roten und Weissen Abenteuern* which finds the author at Big River (Saskatchewan) from whence he travels to Ile à la Crosse, where he spends some time trapping and fishing. Later on he joins in a dog derby at Prince Albert together with twenty-nine other competitors. He does not state the year, but one infers it was between 1924 and 1928. Be that as it may, he was accused after the race of killing a man because his revolver (which had been stolen from him) was found near the body. He is captured by a Royal Canadian Mounted Policeman at Big River and put into jail from which he escapes the same night. The story that he now tells is, to say the least, extraordinary. His travels take him to Great Slave Lake, the Peace River, Vancouver, and eventually South America.

There is evidence enough that the author is very well-informed, as may be judged by the fact that he mentions (p. 166, of *Roten und Weissen*) "Buffalo Jones" in connection with Fort Reliance, and describes the old fireplaces there. His geography is almost always correct. Nevertheless it seems to me that the best way to Cree Lake from Big River for anyone in a desperate hurry is not *via* Montreal Lake (p. 146) but Cowan Lake, Beaver River, Ile à la Crosse Lake, Mudkatike, and Gwillim Rivers. The lower course of the Thelon is not the Dubownt (read Dubawnt) River (p. 155). They are, of course, two separate streams running roughly parallel. Both discharge into Beverly Lake

at the western end of Lake Aberdeen. When in the Thelon Sanctuary he was attacked by a musk-ox. He found the meat musky (p. 158). But surely not in July? Most authorities agree that musk-ox flesh compares favourably with beef. Nor is the musk-ox either as big or ferocious as a buffalo; indeed, he is a singularly pacific animal. Six hundred pounds would be a very fair average weight.

The two books contain interesting illustrations by the author. They show considerable talent, but are somewhat of the "penny-horrible" type. In the introduction to *Auf wilden Pfaden* Herr Huber suggests that he has only started relating his adventures, and in a footnote (p. 102) we learn that he also trapped and hunted in the Yukon and Alaska. We may thus expect to hear from him again.

Mehrhardt-Ihlow's book (his third) on hunting and trapping adventures in Canada compares very unfavourably with those of Arnim Huber. His latest volume tells of his stay somewhere on the banks of the Churchill. He does not say where, but as that river is only one thousand miles long he may have felt that such details are superfluous. Evidently his imagination has not been cramped, and his *Aborthumbor* (there is no adequate term in English) is as rampant in this book as it was in his *Ausgerechnet Canada*. It is difficult for a Canadian to understand how such a volume ever gets published. I merely mention it here as symptomatic, and, after all, German publishers ought to know what their readers like, and, certainly the name Canada on a German book seems one to conjure with just now. Any far-fetched stories about adventures in the backwoods of Canada are sure to sell in Germany, especially before Christmas. I take it that this type of book circulates a good deal among school-boys.

The successful settler, it is said, is the best immigration agent; the failure, who returns to his native land, acts as a useful corrective against too optimistic reports. If, however, Herr Karger's book were taken at its face value and did not defeat its own ends by obvious exaggerations, and if it were a best-seller, instead of an obscure ebullition, Canada's name in Germany would be more sullied than it was by that "super canadaphobe", Max Otto. The author is a German elementary school-teacher who went to Canada in 1915 and was deported (reason not given) in 1919. It makes unpleasant reading, for it is a veritable cesspool of abuse of everything Canadian, English, and American. He worked himself up into a state of paranoia in writing his experience as a farm-hand in Morden and Morris (Manitoba), and as a teacher in Friedensthal (near Emerson), and in Waldhof—now Gunne (Ontario) where he finally became a farmer. It is not worth while, and would be a waste of paper and printer's ink, to list the many errors and misstatements. But even this book, like so many more or less worthless collections of printed pages, affords some valuable information, though, as is mostly the case, it may be unintentional. Herr Karger's book is useful for the facts it contains about the German and other foreign elements in Canada. That is to say, half-a-dozen of the 233 pages can be profitably consulted by those interested in the make-up of western Canadian population. We need every information on this subject, and no source should be considered too muddy.

Father Schäfer's life of Father Lacombe will be welcome in Germany to all who are interested in the work done in the Canadian North-west by those heroic missionaries, the Oblates of Mary Immaculate whose activities were made familiar to Canadians by the Rev. Father Duchaussois's *Mid snow and ice* (London, 1923). In Canada Miss Katherine Hughes wrote Father Lacombe's biography under the title of *The blackrobe voyageur* (Toronto, 1911) and this title has been translated by Father Schäfer. Further there was *Le Père Lacombe* by "Une Soeur de la Providence" (Montreal, 1916), to say nothing of various articles in journals, etc. Both the above-mentioned books have been consulted. The French-Canadian missionary, though familiar to Canadians, is now introduced to German readers in a very able and readable book which I trust will have the circulation it deserves and thus help to clear up misconceptions that have been intentionally spread in Germany about the dominion, the more so as the volume makes a direct appeal to German youth.

If there is any criticism to offer, it is this that when Canadian names are translated into German such as *Bogenfluss* (Bow River), *Schildkroetenberge* (Turtle Mountains), *Hirschkuhsee* (Lake La Biche), the difficulty for the reader not acquainted with the geography of Canada and with English to find them is almost insurmountable because these German names cannot be found on any map, except on the one at the end of the book, the scale of which is much too small. What is more serious is a biased account of the attitude of the Hudson's Bay Company towards the Indians (p. 81). The reputation that the company has gained as a friend of the Indians is generally recognized. It will be remembered that during the North-west Rebellion no servant of the Company was killed by the Indians.

Students of the history of the Canadian North-west will find many points to interest them in Father Schäfer's book, such as the hostilities between Crees and Blackfeet; the serious smallpox epidemic in 1870, when according to Father Lacombe's estimate, over two thousand five-hundred Crees and Blackfeet perished; the North-west Rebellion, which is given an interesting, though not very objective, account; and the construction of the C. P. R. The relations between the missionary and the railway were most cordial, and it may be noted here that German Catholic and Protestant clergymen, following the example of Father Lacombe, were long and successfully employed by the Canadian railways in encouraging immigration to the Canadian prairies.

After what has been said above, it will be seen that German interest in Canada is now mainly limited to certain phases of the economic situation and to descriptions of life in the "wild west". Perhaps it is inevitable that the latter type of book includes a mixture of truth and exaggeration. But then the public want "readable" books, and exaggeration often adds just that spice to reading which salt does to food. There is now every indication that the field of interest in Canada is widening in Germany, and the next year or two will also see the treatment of purely literary themes in the form of theses.

LOUIS HAMILTON

REVIEWS OF BOOKS

Encyclopaedia of the Social Sciences. Edited by E. R. A. SELIGMAN, ALVIN JOHNSON and others. New York: The Macmillan Company. 1930 *et seq.* Vols. I-IX; A-Mac.

IN recent years there have been attempts to secure co-operation in the study of the subjects known collectively as "the social sciences". In some universities these subjects have been grouped under one department. This movement has been particularly noticeable in the United States, where there has been founded the Social Science Research Council, which has been assisting research by young scholars, and for some years published the *Social science abstracts*.

The work under review is a further, and a very interesting experiment—if it can indeed be called an experiment—in this field. It is explained in the preface that the *Encyclopaedia* is the result of discussions and investigations which began in 1923 on the general problem of co-operation in the social sciences. Finally ten societies in the United States agreed to unite in producing such a work, and asked Professor Seligman to act as editor-in-chief. In addition to the editor and associate editor, an imposing array of advisory and consulting editors was secured, scholars who represent various countries, including Canada.

Nine, out of a total of fifteen volumes have now appeared, and it therefore becomes possible to examine the scope of the work and to estimate its value for students of Canadian history. More than half of the first volume consists of an introduction, which is divided into two sections: "The development of social thought and institutions", and "The social sciences as disciplines". The first of these opens with an explanation by the editor-in-chief of what is meant by the term "social sciences". The "purely social sciences" are: politics, economics, history, jurisprudence, anthropology, penology, and sociology. The "semi-social sciences" are: ethics, education, philosophy, and psychology. The sciences "with recognized social implications" are: biology, geography, medicine, linguistics, and art. The remainder of the first part of the introduction consists of a series of essays, by distinguished authorities, on eleven historical periods. The somewhat mysteriously named second part of the introduction discusses the place of the social sciences in individual countries.

With such explanations and background, the editors proceed to the articles, which are, of course, alphabetically arranged. The authors of these appear to represent every country as well as all divisions of the defined field, though there is naturally a majority of writers from the United States. Amongst the authors are a number of Canadians; for example such historians as H. A. Innis, W. P. M. Kennedy, Duncan McArthur, W. S. Wallace, R. Flenley, R. G. Trotter, F. H. Underhill, W. A. Riddell, and J. B. Brebner. Articles vary in length from a few lines to several pages. While the province of the *Encyclopaedia* is, as

has been said, described in the introduction, the selection of subjects of articles in detail was necessarily left to the discretion of the editors. Such selection must have been especially difficult in relation to the biographical sketches.

This may be illustrated from the treatment of Canadian historical figures. There are, for example, short articles on Champlain, Laval, Baldwin, LaFontaine, Howe, Elgin, Macdonald, George Brown, and Laurier, but not on Jacques Cartier, La Salle, Bagot, or Hincks. Canadian history has, however, received very fair treatment; and the *Encyclopaedia* will be a book of reference for the history of this as well as other countries. But perhaps the chief value of the *Encyclopaedia* lies not so much in the field of biography, on which much has been written, as in the analytical articles. To illustrate again from an article by a Canadian writer, Professor Innis's essay on the fur-trade shows the kind of article which one would expect in this work, for he has combined, with an explanation of method and an historical sketch, suggestive remarks on the social importance and implications of the trade.

Apart from the articles purely on Canadian history (most of which have been listed in the CANADIAN HISTORICAL REVIEW), the more general ones will be found of value. These vary in length from a hundred pages or more to a few paragraphs, and here again the editors must have been forced to make many difficult decisions; but in general the allocation of space seems to be reasonable and successful. The long article on government, by various authors, is a valuable contribution to the *Encyclopaedia*, and illustrates the advantages of treating the social sciences together, as does that on communism by Max Beer. The mention of articles on feudalism, fascism, architecture, immigration, and history and historiography will indicate the kind of help that the student may expect to get from this work.

As distinguished from general encyclopaedias, there are no articles on individual countries—Canada, for example, is not mentioned in its alphabetical place. What one looks for, and not in vain, is brief explanations of ideas and movements, old and new, and light on that borderland where the social sciences touch and mingle. It is the attempt to cover this latter ground that gives the *Encyclopaedia* its unique character, and it is on this that it must be judged. The first nine volumes promise a high degree of success.

Each article is provided with its bibliography, and these seem to vary in length according to the space given to the article itself. Even the short ones, however, will be found useful. The printing is excellent and the volumes strongly bound, though the gay yellow cover is open to some objections for a much-handled reference book.

G. DET. GLAZEBROOK

Unemployment and Relief in Ontario, 1929-1932: A Survey and Report.

By H. M. CASSIDY. Under the auspices of the Unemployment Research Committee of Ontario. Toronto: J. M. Dent and Sons. 1932. Pp. 290, xiii.

THIS volume originated in the decision of a group of public-spirited citizens to form the Unemployment Research Committee of Ontario

for studying the problem of unemployment and "the success attending the many and varied experiments in its social treatment". To this end they decided to obtain the services of a "competent, trained social investigator who would make a fact-finding survey of unemployment relief in a typical group of Ontario cities". Mr. Cassidy was the investigator chosen, and unquestionably the committee are to be congratulated on their choice. As they state in their foreword: "Dr. Cassidy has written the first book on unemployment relief in Canada, and it is certainly a social study of outstanding merit, deserving the attention of legislators, publicists and administrators throughout the whole Dominion, as well as of those of the province most immediately concerned." The report will be found of great practical use in the direction of a policy of unemployment relief during the continuance of the depression, and for those who have little time for going into detail there is provided chapter x of "Summary and conclusions", which largely makes up for the lack of an index. But all who are seriously interested in unemployment and its relief should read the whole book, and social workers of different types should not only read it but "mark, learn, and inwardly digest it" as British social workers of a quarter of a century ago studied the report of the Poor Law Commission. The whole country owes a debt of gratitude to Mr. Cassidy and to the members of the Unemployment Research Committee, several of whom were members of the Royal Commission which investigated unemployment in Ontario in 1913-14.

The volume commences with an investigation of the amount of unemployment and dependency in Ontario and in the dominion as a whole. In the first chapter, use is made of the index numbers of employment compiled in the Dominion Bureau of Statistics to calculate a total of unemployed for the dominion. It might, perhaps, have been remembered that these statistics of employment, originating as they did in the Department of Labour in connection with the Employment Service of Canada, were intended to facilitate the placement of applicants for work, and so were not obtained for certain groups of employment where employment is practically steady. Again, it might have been remembered that the activities of the average Canadian summer in normal times absorb in gainful employment of a temporary character perhaps 50,000 students of all types from universities, colleges, and high schools, who are helping to put themselves through college but who are not ordinarily recorded as "gainfully employed". Many thousands of these partly or wholly self-supporting students are doubtless employed during the summer months by the firms reporting to the Bureau of Statistics, but are not, therefore, to be considered as unemployed when they are attending school or college in the winter. The failure to recognize these two considerations seems to the reviewer to lead to some exaggeration of total estimated unemployment at certain dates, but the further decline of employment since the report was issued certainly offsets any overstatement arising from these causes.

In the latter part of the first chapter, valuable analyses are made of the age, the conjugal condition, the occupation, and economic and social status of over 36,000 unemployed men who registered as unemployed with the Central Bureau of Unemployment in Toronto in the autumn

of 1931. Figures are also given showing the number of families or persons drawing relief in Toronto and other cities in Ontario as late as April, 1932. The compilation of these figures must have involved a great deal of work, but they are well worth while.

The next three chapters deal with the development of public policy, the attitude of the dominion government and of the government of Ontario. Here are discussed the part which unemployment played in the dominion election of 1930, the dominion relief measures of 1930 and 1931, and the decision of 1932 generally to provide direct relief rather than employment. The dominion doctrine that unemployment is primarily the duty of the provincial and municipal authorities, together with the Ontario corollary that unemployment is a matter for the municipal authorities, are fully discussed, but it is pointed out that in practice both the province and the dominion must come to the assistance of the municipality, more especially by making provision for the wanderers who have no fixed abode in any municipality, but who in these days of large movements of population may resort to particular communities and become too heavy a burden for these communities to bear.

In chapter iv on "The provincial government and relief", it is brought out that the committee of the cabinet administering the order-in-council authorizing the province to participate in the dominion's scheme of relief does not appear, in apportioning the funds, to have made any use of the available statistics showing the relative severity of unemployment in different communities. Nor were any instructions given to the municipalities as to employment of married men in preference to single, or of British subjects in preference to aliens, so that each municipality was a law unto itself on such matters. Again, little attempt was made to secure statistics of employment actually afforded, and little if any use was made of the registration data obtained by the government from the municipalities. Finally, the registration in September, 1931, was largely a duplication of the work which the dominion census had performed in June of the same year, while its failure to define such terms as "unemployed" vitiated its results. The work on highways and other construction carried on as a measure of relief in 1931 and 1932 is also dealt with in this chapter. But such construction is more costly than direct relief, and in 1932 the premier of Ontario announced that the government had decided to fall back upon the latter. The author is not enthusiastic about this decision, which was also that of the dominion in the latest year, though he recognizes that it could hardly have been avoided.

The next three chapters are concerned with the problem of unemployment in the municipalities, their existing machinery of administration and the extension thereof to cope with an unprecedented volume of unemployment, the municipal relief works of 1930 to 1932, and the municipal programmes in respect of direct relief. The policies pursued and the investigations made varied greatly from one municipality to another, and in many places no adequate use was made of the invaluable experience of the officials of the Employment Service of Canada. The reviewer agrees with the author that "there seems no conclusive reason why the Service offices should not have handled all placements, even in

the larger centres, if their facilities had been enlarged sufficiently either through municipal or provincial assistance". All such work can be more efficiently and economically performed by strengthening the existing organization in this field, than by creating an *ad hoc* organization on a temporary basis. The conclusions on pages 159 to 163 regarding the policies pursued with regard to relief works and on pages 212 to 214 with regard to direct relief should be carefully studied by municipal administrators and officials not only in Ontario but throughout the dominion.

Private effort toward relief is dealt with in chapter viii, where it is pointed out that it supplements in many ways the relief provided by the public authorities, having considerable advantages in being more flexible and possible of adaptation to the special needs of individual cases. Private relief may be rendered to non-residents and may take forms which public relief could not very well take. What are to be the relations between public relief and private relief in the future?

The social costs of unemployment are considered in chapter ix—the drain upon savings accounts, the contracting of loans upon insurance policies often ending in their surrender, the loss of equities in homes, evictions for non-payment of rent, failure to pay book debts frequently ending in the bankruptcy of store-keepers who have extended credit to their unemployed customers. Protracted unemployment has resulted in inadequacy of housing accommodation, inadequacy of clothing and inadequacy of food, leading to impaired health among unemployed workers and their dependants. The marriage rates have fallen, while illegitimate births and suicides have increased. Particularly difficult is the problem of the boys and girls who have left school at sixteen or seventeen years of age and are unable to find work, their plight being shared in many cases by the young university graduates of twenty-one or twenty-two. Deportations have taken place from a country which has as yet but three people to a square mile to a country which has seven hundred people to a square mile. And finally, there is the problem of financing relief, which is naturally more acute owing to the great decline that has taken place in the national income.

While the material of the first nine chapters may be too elaborate for the average reader, everyone should read at least the tenth chapter of "Summary and conclusions". Among these conclusions the writer may, perhaps, be pardoned for drawing special attention to the following: "It is of fundamental importance that more effort be made to collect and compile statistical information upon unemployment and relief. Unless this is done, it is impossible to see those trends and developments clearly which point the way toward desirable changes of policy." The fact is that municipal statistics of all kinds are generally meagre and defective throughout Canada, and are in urgent need both of extension and of compilation upon a uniform plan for the country as a whole. In particular, it is certainly "up" to provincial authorities to know more about their municipalities, and, knowing more, to exercise more effective supervision of their activities. Otherwise, in the near future we shall have many more cases of the improper use by municipalities of the funds for relief supplied by the governments, together with much other wastage of public monies.

S. A. CUDMORE

Lord Jeffery Amherst, a Soldier of the King. By J. C. LONG. New York: The Macmillan Company. 1933. Pp. xxi, 373. (\$4.75)

IN 1758 the whole anxious empire rejoiced over Amherst's victory at Louisbourg, not only because Louisbourg was the great sea-gate of New France but equally because this British success marked the turning of the tide all over the New World, and (what was still more appealing to the mother country) because it seemed to herald the turning of an extremely troublous war-tide in the Old World as well. Two years later Amherst was the commander-in-chief who received the final surrender of all New France at Montreal, after a threefold converging advance which was a masterpiece both of organization and executive ability. Then, during the American Revolutionary War, Amherst gave the muddling home government some very sound political advice, besides clearly indicating the only effective way of conducting an American campaign, by joint naval and military operations, with their central land base at New York. He also did the best that could be done with the various land forces in the United Kingdom to prevent French invasions; and he was undoubtedly what his biographer calls him, "the man of the hour", during the dangerous Gordon Riots in that "black year" of 1780.

Yet a hundred and fifty years after his triumph at Louisbourg the *Dictionary of national biography* had to say that there was no biography of Amherst. Eight years later an American professor, L. S. Mayo, made a most praiseworthy "attempt to tell the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth", in his *Jeffery Amherst: A biography* (1916). This book, however, was little more than a very good epitome of pre-existing knowledge. It had no regular bibliography; and its footnotes were not always complete guides to the best original authorities already known to students. Then Dr. John Clarence Webster, to whom Canadian historians owe so much, appeared with some excellent editions of original evidence. His three pamphlets (containing the journals of Amherst's brother, William, in America and Newfoundland, with Montresor's journal about the expedition to Detroit) are full of interesting side-lights. But his *Journal of Jeffery Amherst* (Toronto, 1932) contains Amherst's own whole record in America, from Louisbourg in 1758 to the conspiracy of Pontiac in 1763. This journal is admirably edited, with practically all the explanatory annotations that any serious student could require. Yet still there was no regular original biography of Amherst: not even with regard to his American campaigns. For it is only now, one hundred and seventy years after the cession of New France, that Mr. J. C. Long has given us what (with some due revision, in both form and substance) may well become the classic life of Amherst for all time.

Revision of form should certainly begin with the title, which Mr. Long himself recognizes as a sheer misnomer in his foreword on page x, but uses because "the form Lord Jeffery Amherst is the more usual manner of reference to the General in America." Yet since even Americans cannot make Amherst the son of a marquess or a duke, why cannot Mr. Long change the title of his excellent book into the shorter, quite correct, and equally descriptive form of "Amherst: a soldier of the king"? Then, perhaps, without any undue clipping of such winged words as

perfectly befit the occasional soaring of his theme, the author might gain an even stronger foothold among original historians by a little judicious pruning here and there. But let prospective readers understand that the general style rings true, and that the form and substance are never much at odds.

The fundamental substance with which this first revealing life of Amherst has been built up includes practically all the previously known original evidence as well as the vast collection of what seems to be the perfectly conclusive original evidence now used for the first time. The "public letters" now on loan by the present Lord Amherst in the Public Record Office (where they are classed as War Office 34) include more than eighty thousand items. There are also eighty-seven packages of "private letters", besides all the other relevant "deeds and documents" required for intimate biography.

Mr. Long's notes give us about seven hundred precise references to the original authorities upon which his text is based. His bibliography of some hundred items, is less good; because, like far too many bibliographies, it does not discriminate between works based entirely on original evidence and the many kinds of others. This bibliography, also, suffers from some more or less serious omissions. Amherst, quite rightly, is the pivot round which any chosen list of books should turn. But Mr. Long might have mentioned Professor Waugh's *Wolfe* (Montreal, 1928), some original work on Lévis, and such works on Montcalm as *Le Marquis de Montcalm* by M. Chapais (Quebec, 1911) and *Montcalm au combat de Carillon*, by Maurice Sautai, published by the historical section of the French general staff on the hundred and fiftieth anniversary of Ticonderoga (Paris, 1909). There is another class of omissions which Mr. Long may think quite justifiably omitted, because he is writing the life of a soldier, not a sailor. But sea-power, in the very broadest meaning of the term, and including inland small craft as well as the navy and the mercantile marine, was of such fundamental and supreme importance all over every theatre of war, throughout the whole world, that some few entries about it might have been made. If a hundred tons of transport went better by sea than ten by rail or one by horse-drawn waggons, what must have been the absolutely overwhelming advantages of water-transport over land-transport in the days when there was no rail at all and hardly any roads? Besides, Amherst was a particularly good commander-in-chief in all concerning lines of communication, transport, supply, and convergence on one supreme objective by means of carefully synchronized strategic advances along the inland waterways. Mr. Long must know that whoever then ruled the water must, in the end, rule the whole land too. Yet, if he thought this so very obvious that he purposely omitted Mahan and some other authors, he might have referred some readers to the original *Logs of the conquest of Canada* published by the Champlain Society in 1909.

But no reviewer of this first close approach to a classic life of Amherst should end upon a note of censure. For author, publishers, and biographic history at large, are all to be congratulated on at last possessing a work which supersedes all others on its own especial subject, and which cannot itself be superseded, if carefully revised in time.

WILLIAM WOOD

Louisbourg Journals, 1745. Compiled and edited by LOUIS EFFINGHAM DE FOREST for and published by the Society of Colonial Wars in the State of New York, through its Committee on Historical Documents. New York: 1932. Pp. xvii, 253.

THIS carefully edited volume is the latest contribution of many made by the Society of Colonial Wars of New York. It contains some ten journals, mostly anonymous, and in its appendix and notes, other matter especially valuable to the student of Canadian history.

The contents of these diaries do not modify the conclusions of the serious historians of this siege. They do throw light on the temper of these plain men who left New England, their reckless courage and lack of discipline, their protracted heavy labour, their hairbreadth escapes, and their interest in the gruesome; and furthermore, they show the way in which gossip and rumour spread through their camps, the provincial vessels, and Warren's fleet. These casual entries create atmosphere which is vivid, and help to make a background interesting to all to whom every phase of Louisbourg's chequered history is dear.

One supplement gives some letters of Warren to Pepperell, which rounds out that correspondence published by the Massachusetts Historical Society. Some fresh material is given about the enigmatic Colonel Bradstreet, whose relations with the French, gossip had it, were causing disturbance in the early part of May. Apparently, at the instance of Commodore Warren, who felt that these rumours were doing the morale of the forces grievous injury, Pepperell held a council and took up the charges. Lieutenant-Colonel Chandler, who was also a member of the council with Bradstreet, apologized to Bradstreet, and we hear no more of the difficulty, at least among the officers of higher rank. During the siege Bradstreet discharged his military duties with entire satisfaction, and seemed to be in good social standing, for Chaplain Williams speaks with the same pleasure of having dined with him (pp. 143, 161) as with the general and Warren, but these unfavourable rumours started again after the capture of the city. At this time it was among the rank and file. A somewhat ill-natured private writes on this matter on June 21: "I.B. is Very Bise about his Bisnas and it will Be as well for him If he Would not." And on the next day he says again: "B: is all the Talk for he is as the Vest to be one day won Side and a Nother Day one the other Side." It seems probable that this recrudescence of rumours came about through the evidence before their eyes of Bradstreet's familiarity with the French officers.

The editing is well and carefully done. There are one or two matters in which we think there has been some overstatement, such as (p. xiv) that the New England troops went to face the regulars of the standing army of France, protected by the walls of the greatest fortress of the day. The troops were not regulars. They were companies intended to garrison colonial posts, and scarcely one of their officers, if any, had the slightest experience in warfare. Again (p. xvi): "These events, with a mutinous spirit in the French garrison. . . ." The garrison was not mutinous during the siege. It returned after a winter of mutiny and discharged its duty as well as could be expected, considering that military resources in men, materials, and leadership, were inadequate. The good

spirit both of the French companies and the Swiss mercenaries, was admirable, as is shown by the fact that there was at most but a handful of deserters.

It may be noted that the print opposite page 132 is the siege of 1758, but as that siege was conducted on exactly the same lines as the siege of 1745, it misleads no one. Again, the Louisbourg flag, opposite page 172, is unfamiliar, at all events to the writer; while comparison of the entries in the volume would have been made easier had the month been put at the top of each page of the diaries.

The letter of Dr. Webster (p. 225) can be supplemented by these details of progress since it was written on November 18, 1931. The original incised leaden plate, commemorating the re-building of the lighthouse, has been preserved by being built into the wall of the modern lighthouse adjacent to the site of the one destroyed by fire in 1736. The rue d'Orleans has been opened through the Maurepas Gate to the graveyards at Point Rochefort, which have been fenced in, and the work of clearing the ground of the king's bastion has resulted—by unearthing its foundations—in giving a vivid impression of the size of the citadel building, and in finding a skeleton which there are weighty reasons for believing is that of the Duke d'Anville, leader of the unfortunate expedition of 1746.

We can congratulate the society, and the editor, Mr. DeForest, on an excellent piece of work, which we feel sure will be appreciated by those students who may have the opportunity of studying it.

J. S. McLENNAN

Les Acadiens louisianais et leur parler. Par JAY K. DITCHY. (L'Institut français de Washington.) Paris: Librairie E. Droz. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press; London: Oxford University Press. 1932. Pp. 272.

THE "Institut français de Washington" has been most generous in financing, and Professor Ditchy most conscientious in publishing, a book that worthily keeps the remnants of the Acadian survival in Louisiana. The work, in our opinion, might be ascribed for its authorship to that well known folk-lorist and linguist, Alcée Fortier, although it bears no name. This is nothing but a guess; all that the edition makes us certain about is that the manuscript, completed in 1901, was bequeathed by Chief Justice Breaux, himself an Acadian, to the Historical Museum of the State of Louisiana.

As it is, it contains three sections: a grammar of the Acadian French (pp. 19-31); a glossary of the same language (pp. 33-218); a synopsis of Acadian history and folk-lore in Louisiana (pp. 219-70). However summary the latter part, it bears testimony to the exactness of the picture that has been delineated by Longfellow in his *Evangeline*. As in the poem, the Acadians here appear as a very honest people, with pure morals, peaceful manners, and upright character. The vocabulary is not merely Acadian. In fact, its lists of words allude often to their Canadian meaning. The explanation is obvious; most of the Acadian glossary has been borrowed, just as the Canadian, from the French provinces. Yet the reader may be misled; for no reference is made to

the original parent of which both languages are the offspring. Something else also is wanting; many of the words are so evidently a French pronunciation of the English, viz., *campe* derived from *camp*, that the Anglo-Saxon origin was easy to trace. As for the grammar, Professor Ditchy was wise in not adding any phonetical notes to the vulgar spelling of the author. This process enables the common reader to represent to himself the exact way in which the Acadians pronounce their words.

Just as it stands, Professor Ditchy's contribution is most valuable, especially to those who wish to compare the French used in Louisiana with that which is spoken in Acadia proper and which Senator Poirier has so exhaustively interpreted in his *Lexicon*.

EMILE CHARTIER

George Morgan, Colony Builder. By MAX SAVELLE. New York: Columbia University Press. 1932. Pp. xiv, 266. (\$3.00)

The Marquis Duquesne, Sieur de Menneville, Founder of the City of Pittsburgh. By CHARLES W. DAHLINGER. (Reprinted from volume 15 of the *Western Pennsylvania historical magazine*.) Pittsburgh: The Historical Society of Western Pennsylvania. 1932. Pp. x, 116.

THESE two books deal with the history of the American west in the later eighteenth century. George Morgan well merited a biography. Merchant, commissary, Indian agent, farmer, land speculator on a colossal scale, litigant against a sovereign state, and bargain-driver with a most Catholic king, even (we are assured but not quite convinced) a scientist and "man of culture"—his career carries us almost through the chaplet. Professor Savelle, in spite of the title he has given his book, does not think of Morgan primarily as a "colony builder". It is, indeed, in his character of pioneer farmer that Morgan best deserves this epithet, and his biographer is not deterred by the unspectacular nature of that contribution from giving it due attention. But most of the book is devoted to the story of the Illinois Company, the Indiana Company, the New Jersey Land Society, and the settlement at New Madrid, in all of which Morgan was protagonist. Morgan's Indian policy, consistently conciliatory, and its frustration through the impatient truculence of the frontiersmen, are points well brought out, and there is an excellent account of the troubles, political and economic, of a western trader. The author has travelled far and dug deep for his materials; the economic historian in particular will wish to hear more of the account books and personal papers of Morgan and his partners here listed. The book is not without its imperfections. At times, as in chapter viii, Savelle the antiquarian runs away with Savelle the historian. A chapter headed "Philadelphia, 1756-1776" seems to the reviewer ill-digested, carelessly written, and largely irrelevant. Mistakes such as "Priestly" for "Priestley", "Laughlin MacLane" for "Lauchlin MacLeane", and "Babeuf" for "LeBoeuf" are symptomatic rather than intrinsically important. On the other hand, the section on western trade in the 1760's is both vivid and informative, the chapter on New Madrid is an excellent piece of writing, and in the concluding pages the character of Morgan and his contributions to American history are sensibly and temperately set down.

The Marquis Duquesne does not figure very largely in his own

biography. Mr. Dahlinger's essay is in effect a plea to the citizens of Pittsburgh for more adequate recognition for the "virtual founder" of their city. Disclaiming any special knowledge based on primary research, the author has reviewed the history of Fort Duquesne from its foundation to the defeat of Braddock, which occurred about the time of Duquesne's departure from Canada. The strategic importance of the site in the struggle for the continent is clearly brought out. Of Duquesne's work in Quebec and of his career before and after his American experience we learn little.

S. MORLEY SCOTT

Sir Billy Howe. By BELLAMY PARTRIDGE. London, New York, Toronto: Longmans, Green and Co. 1932. Pp. xiii, 301. (\$4.00)

Benedict Arnold, Military Racketeer. By EDWARD DEAN SULLIVAN. New York: The Vanguard Press. 1932. Pp. xiii, 306. (\$3.00)

HERE are two ultra-modern re-interpretations of two fundamentally important characters in the American Revolutionary War. Both Howe and Arnold had conflicting motives of their own. Both were centripetal leaders round whom the very worst controversies of that most heterogeneous civil war raged most furiously. And both have been made the subjects of innumerable studies ever since: Arnold of some biographies as well as of incidental studies in every work concerned with that revolution; Howe, of no previous biography, but of quite as many "incidentals", and possibly even more.

Both authors are Americans, writing primarily for that part of the American public which likes its literature rather highly seasoned, worded in "journalese", and interspersed with sundry staccato passages. The intriguing "human touch" is kept all through. Reserve is purposely disregarded whenever the seamy side offers a good chance of driving some piercing point into the characters of either Howe or Arnold. And when, especially in Arnold's case, enough points can be driven far enough home to make the wounds quite mortal, then the biographic satisfaction is complete.

But this does not mean that the biographers are purposely unfair, or even that they have failed to prove their cases. Discriminating readers of pure history may possibly regret that the well marshalled and convincing evidence is not allowed more freedom for telling its own tale. Students of biography may, perhaps, think that there might have been more of the art of André Maurois, and less of the artfulness of Emil Ludwig. But, all the same, both books are well worth reading; and they certainly do bring home to their general public the main determining human factors at work in all the knotty problems raised by criminal Arnold and evasive Howe.

Mr. Partridge is a novelist. "Human-touch" biographies have some affinities with fiction. And the title of one of his novels—*A pretty pickle*—is rather suggestive of the more amorous side of his "Billy Howe", more especially when Billy is at Philadelphia, and in the arms of Mrs. Loring. But he seems to have studied the best original evidence. He gives a good bibliography. And he quotes the most apposite documents *verbatim* at every crucial turn. The result is to prove conclusively that

Howe was "playing politics" all through, hoping to concentrate the credit on himself and the Whigs for having settled the whole vexed question of the revolution with a maximum of party politics and a minimum of war.

Mr. Sullivan would have made his account of Arnold at Quebec quite as good as the rest of his book if he had consulted the original documents published by the Literary and Historical Society of Quebec, whose archives are not even mentioned in his extensive bibliography. Being the author of two works on Chicago criminals he ought to know a "racketeer", of either past or present; and no one who reads the present book can doubt that he has made out an excellent case for putting Arnold in the dock beside his other racketeers. Arnold's admirable military qualities are freely displayed to full advantage. But the theme of the book is Arnold's criminal side: criminal in repeated thefts and personal treacheries as well as in his best known act of historic treachery, when he sold himself, and tried to sell his cause, during its black year of 1780, partly to spite the many enemies he had made on his own side, and partly, like a true "racketeer", to be "in with the winners" at the end. Mr. Sullivan tells his tragic tale in a most dramatic way. His first chapter, "The black brigadier" is really a portentous prologue. And the shadow of approaching doom intensifies until the climax comes.

WILLIAM WOOD

The Correspondence of the Honourable Peter Russell with Allied Documents relating to his Administration of the Government of Upper Canada during the Official Term of Lieut.-Governor J. G. Simcoe while on Leave of Absence. Collected and edited for the Ontario Historical Society by Brigadier-General E. A. CRUIKSHANK and A. F. HUNTER. Vol. I. 1796-1797. Toronto: Published by the Society. 1932. Pp. xxviii, 336.

THIS volume, collected and edited for the Ontario Historical Society and published by the society, is a notable contribution to the history of the early periods of provincial life in Ontario. The editors have exhibited their accustomed accuracy and judgment; and the printers and bookbinders have given us a well-nigh perfect book—an occasional error in the index can be pardoned.

When Upper Canada's first lieutenant-governor, Simcoe, was forced by ill health, for which he had to thank Canadian mosquitoes, to leave the province, he selected Peter Russell, as administrator, during his absence, which was fated to be permanent. Russell had been educated for medicine, and had filled acceptably the office of receiver-general, as well as being a faithful legislative councillor. Simcoe had also—when Osgoode left the Court of King's Bench with only William Dummer Powell as justice—given Russell a temporary commission as puisné justice. In that position, his own knowledge of law being very meagre, he had the good sense to defer to Powell who was a good lawyer.

Russell was to remain administrator of the government of the province, until the arrival of Simcoe's successor, General Peter Hunter (who, by the way, is sometimes quite wrongly represented as brother of the celebrated Dr. Hunter, famous in connection with the circulation

of the blood). This collection of documents covers about half of Russell's term.

Many sources are placed under contribution for the material here set out, in great part, of course, the Archives of Ontario. The selection is admirable, and as nearly complete as possible, the diligent and efficient editors having carefully examined every practicable source. Their notes are illuminating and accurate, having also the virtue of not being too many or too long.

The delicate position of the Province of Upper Canada in its early period is little known: this is made manifest in the correspondence here published. The animosity of the United States had not yet had its full growth as manifested a little later; but France was not content and the Indian was not always wholly loyal—even the great friend of England, Brant, sometimes showed a troublesome spirit; while the red men of the northern and western districts were more than once something to be dreaded.

It is impossible in the limit of space of this review so much as to indicate the wealth of information in the volume. Perhaps to the lawyer, the reason given by the solicitor-general, Robert I. D. Gray, of the Act forming the Law Society of Upper Canada will be novel, if accurate: while the horrible episode of McLane's treason and execution at Quebec will illustrate the ways of the times.

All interested in the early history of Upper Canada will welcome this volume, and with me, eagerly await its successor.

WILLIAM RENWICK RIDDELL

Historic Niagara Falls. By JAMES C. MORDEN. Corroborated by information gleaned from various sources. With portraits and illustrations. Published under the direction of the Lundy's Lane Historical Society. Niagara Falls, Ontario: Lindsay Press. 1932. Pp. 117.

THE Lundy's Lane Historical Society deservedly stands as one of the foremost among the local historical organizations of Ontario in the extent of its publishing activities and Mr. Morden has made a very creditable addition to its existing list of publications in his new compilation of historical material relating to the great cataract and its environs. Written somewhat from the local point of view the book will doubtless make its greatest appeal to residents of the Niagara vicinage but much of its subject matter should be of interest to a wider circle of readers. Particularly valuable is the comprehensive collection of illustrations—splendidly reproduced—the securing of the originals for which must have entailed much painstaking effort. Many of these views have a distinct historical value because they are pictures of structures and landmarks no longer standing and of physical features of Niagara which time and modern developments have materially changed.

The strictly historical mind will note the omission of any reference to Father Hennepin, the first recorded European visitor to, and describer of, Niagara and the literary reader will perhaps regret the failure to include among subsequent visitors of note, Charles Dickens, whose word-picture of the great waterfall did so much throughout the English-speaking world

to inspire a desire to visit it. Another point which might be noted is the almost negligible mention of the truly historic Niagara Portage Road with its official genesis dating to 1790, under the régime of Lord Dorchester, and its subsequent military importance in the War of 1812 and the Rebellion of 1837.

It is much to be regretted that in the arrangement of the contents of the volume chronological order and grouping of related subjects, so essential to the thorough efficiency of an historical publication, should not have been followed.

A. J. CLARK

Early Life in Upper Canada. By EDWIN C. GUILLET. Toronto: The Ontario Publishing Company. 1933. Pp. xliii, 782. (\$6.00)

THE scope of this large and sumptuous volume is difficult to define. It is not a social and economic history of Upper Canada, for it makes no attempt to trace in a connected way the economic development of the province (a task that still awaits the hand of the historian), and there are many phases of the social life of the province—such as the development of schools, of newspapers, of literature, and of churches—with regard to which it is almost silent. The book is, perhaps, best described as a series of essays on the early history of Upper Canada, most of which, but not all, deal with social and economic history. The story of exploration is dealt with in three chapters, treating successively of Champlain, Hennepin, and Alexander Henry; and eight chapters, at the end of the book, are devoted to "Notable events"—these being the meeting of the first parliament of Upper Canada, the Battle of Queenston Heights, the occupation of York in 1813, the Battle of Montgomery's Farm, the escape of the refugees of the Rebellion of 1837, the Battle of Windmill Point, the Fenian raids, and (curiously enough) the Riel Rebellion of 1870. The rest of the book, however, is taken up with settlement, pioneer social life, and travel and transportation. The object of the author has been, apparently, to provide a volume supplementing the meagre details regarding social life in Upper Canada found in the text-books of Canadian history in general use.

One could wish that Mr. Guillet had given us a fully rounded picture of social life in early Ontario. We would have gladly dispensed with some of his chapters on "Notable events"—chapters which contain little that is new—if he had given us some account of the intellectual and religious life of Upper Canada; and his book would in that case have given the reader a fairer picture of primitive conditions in Upper Canada—conditions mundane enough in any case. But for the chapters which he has given us we have nothing but unqualified admiration. Into his chapters on food and cooking, on pioneer industries, on pioneer sports, and on pioneer means of travel and transportation, there has gone a degree of enthusiastic and unremitting research attained by no previous writer on these subjects. Canadian historians have almost wholly ignored the large part that sports have played in Canadian life; and Mr. Guillet's chapter on "Curling", for example, is a masterpiece of pioneering in research. Mr. Guillet has made a thorough study of the voluminous literature relating to the social history of Upper Canada

to be found in the numerous books published by travellers in the province; and he has supplemented this by investigations into the unprinted materials to be found in the Public Archives at Ottawa and Toronto. The material thus gathered he has presented in a vivid and attractive style, with frequent piquant quotations from the original documents; and his pages will be found as captivating as those of most novels.

An especial feature of the volume is the illustrations. Of these there are over three hundred, sixteen of which are in colour. A large number of them have never before been reproduced. In choosing them, Mr. Guillet has cast a wide net. He has placed under contribution the resources of the Public Archives of Canada, the Ontario Archives, the John Ross Robertson collection in the Toronto Public Library, and a number of other collections; and as a pictorial history of Upper Canada the book would, apart altogether from the letterpress, be a valuable contribution to Canadian history.

Mr. Guillet's pages are not free from error. General Procter once more appears as "Proctor" (pp. 146, 147, and 149); Malcolm McLeod (p. 407) was never a "member", or even a servant, of the Hudson's Bay Company; and "the Rev. Strachan" (p. 642) is not a locution approved by the best ecclesiastical authorities. But, on the whole, the book is singularly accurate; misprints occur with extreme rarity; and dates have apparently been checked with meticulous care. Last, but not least, mention should be made of the admirable index, which serves to unlock the wealth of information which the volume contains.

It is to be hoped that Mr. Guillet will continue his researches, for which he has shown such a notable aptitude, and give us an account of the social history of Canada as a whole.

W. S. WALLACE

History of Christ Church Cathedral, Ottawa, 1832-1932. By HAMNETT P. HILL. Ottawa: [The Runge Press.] 1932. Pp. 132.

LIKE the Cathedral Church of St. James, Toronto, that of Christ Church, Ottawa, has a history almost coeval with that of the city in which it stands. Into that history came governors like Lords Lisgar and Dufferin, Lieutenant-Governors Sir Peregrine Maitland and Sir John Colborne, Colonel By, builder of the Rideau Canal, Dr. Christie of the *By-town gazette*, Nicholas Sparks, whose name is borne by the principal business street of the capital, Archdeacon and Bishop Strachan, Bishops Stewart and Mountain, and Archbishops Lewis, Hamilton, and Roper.

Besides the majority of the men just mentioned, benefactors of the church during its first hundred years have been Major Bolton, R.E., and his family; the Hon. W. H. Draper, afterwards chief justice; Stewart Derbyshire, M.P.P., the first member for Bytown; the Hon. Peter McGill, mistakenly described as "founder of McGill University"; and other men of substance in Montreal and in Quebec, not forgetting Ottawa itself (p. 114). The incumbents have been the Rev. Amos Ansley, U.E., a native of Kingston and a graduate of Cambridge; the Rev. Adam Hood Burwell, brother of Colonel Mahlon Burwell, whose name is perpetuated in Port Burwell; the Rev. Samuel S. Strong, father of a chief justice of the Supreme Court of Canada; the Very Rev. J. Strutt Lauder, the first

dean; the Rev. Henry Kitson, a native of Pembina, Manitoba; the Rev. Lenox Ingall Smith, son of a former vice-chancellor of the University of Toronto; and the present incumbent, the Very Rev. E. F. Salmon. Of them all, with one exception, excellent portraits are given, as of Dr. Christie, who happens to have been the author's grandfather, the most recent architect, and two organists, together with a group picture of the choir of 1890 or thereabouts and of 1932, and also one of the present staff of teachers in the Sunday school.

Pictures of the several churches, of which there have been three, embellish the book, as do those of the recent addition made in honour of the centenary, the old chancel, Lauder Hall, and the rectory or deanery. Intensely interesting is the story of the way in which the difficulties attending the various stages of building operations have been surmounted since 1833.

Six valuable appendices follow the "Epilogue", which declares too modestly:

Looking back over the pages of this little book, one may get the impression that it deals too largely with the simple matters or [of] parochial history, and not enough with the place of Christ Church Cathedral in the annals of the Diocese and of the Capital; but it must not be forgotten that for the most part the story of Christ Church during the hundred years that have gone by has been one of simple, homely affairs, of the intimate relationship between rector and people, and of members of the congregation to one another, of the choir and the various parish organizations and of additions and improvements to the fabric of the church.

As a protest against this modesty may be cited page 29, on the expected settlement of the clergy reserves, and sundry pages regarding Bishop Lewis.

Regret at the absence of an index may be expressed and the suggestion made that the clergy reserves were confiscated in 1854, not 1858, and that the Prince of Wales (King Edward VII) visited Canada in 1860, not 1861.

A. H. YOUNG

Canadian Railway Development from the Earliest Times. By NORMAN THOMPSON and J. H. EDGAR. Toronto: The Macmillan Company of Canada. 1933. Pp. xvi, 402. (\$4.00)

THIS book is a valuable addition to the rather scanty existing literature on the history of Canadian railways. Both the authors have spent some years in the service of Canadian railways, one in the Canadian National and the other in the Canadian Pacific, and they have wisely dwelt on those aspects of their subject with which they were particularly competent to deal, namely, the more technical sides of constructing and operating railways and the character of engines and rolling-stock.

While the volume is especially notable for detailed information of this nature, it is also a general history of railways in Canada. Starting with the earliest projects, the authors carry the story through the periods of great building up to the creation of the Canadian National Railways. They have apparently confined their investigation to printed materials (adding, of course, their own experience and that of others), but have found a large amount of interesting matter. Large and small lines are alike treated, and the student of Canadian history or economics will find

in this book a mine of information. On the whole the approach is not a critical one. There is, for example, an account of the origins of the transcontinental lines, but no attempt to evaluate the later ones, or to express any opinion on the wisdom of the extensive building that was begun at the turn of the century. Political considerations are not altogether omitted, but are given a distinctly secondary place.

In some places the construction of the book is a little loose, but it is readable throughout. A due proportion is kept for the romantic side of the story, without which a history of railways would be unreal. Throughout the volume are interesting anecdotes which help to give life to the picture. The human element, too, is given a fair place, and the reader may learn something of the character and ability of the men who built and operated the roads. While expressing admiration for many of the leaders, the authors reserve the highest praise for Mackenzie and Mann, who

were indeed unique among the railway builders of the continent. They performed a feat which no United States combination ever achieved. Their enterprise was more original than anything carried through by James Hill. Their pioneer railway induced settlement a hundred miles north of the line beyond which implement manufacturers had refrained from extending credit. They went where railway obligation was afraid to venture; they possessed the pioneering, constructive passion which made of them great Canadians; they were so saturated with this spirit that it was more difficult to keep them from getting in advance of traffic than to fulfil the promises given. . . The planning was constructive, the strategy admirable in the selection of routes during the early years, and the service rendered the prairie country invaluable.

It is probable that the final verdict of history will not be far removed from this estimate.

The bibliography is difficult to use as it is arranged under the titles of the works instead of under authors. It is regrettable that there is no index, especially as there is so much information about little-known railways scattered throughout the book. There are well chosen illustrations but no maps.

G. DET. GLAZEBROOK

Subject Catalogue of the Library of the Royal Empire Society formerly Royal Colonial Institute. By EVANS LEWIN. Volume three—*The Dominion of Canada and its Provinces, the Dominion of Newfoundland, the West Indies, and Colonial America.* London: Published by the Royal Empire Society, Northumberland Avenue. 1932. Pp. ix, 822. (£1.11s. 6d.)

THE catalogue of the Royal Empire Society rightly claims to be a bibliography of the oversea British Empire, embodying as it does practically all the publications in the library of the society, which contains over 200,000 books and pamphlets relating to the history, economics, sociology, politics, and development of the British dominions and colonies. Volume III of the catalogue is confined to Canada and its provinces, Newfoundland, the West Indies, and the colonial history of the United States, and consists of 40,000 subject and 10,000 author entries. It contains an index of geographical headings, an index of societies, museums, and universities, the bibliography itself, arranged geographically with subject entries under the different countries or

provinces, and an unusually useful descriptive index of authors which gives, where possible, dates of birth and death, *etc.*

The Canadian section is made up of many entries of old and rare publications; a valuable collection of modern publications relating to history, discovery, exploration, economics, ethnology, geology, mining, *etc.*; a particularly large number of books on native races; a subject-bibliography of official publications; and the contents of the proceedings of learned societies, periodicals, special publications, and reports.

The books and pamphlets on the West Indies (including also British Honduras, British Guiana, and Bermuda) are valuable and extensive. Particularly worthy of note are: a number of rare West Indian pamphlets which cannot be easily found elsewhere; a collection of publications on slavery in the West Indies; and many early and scarce works of voyages and travels.

As the point of view of the volume is that of Canada and the British West Indies, the section entitled "America", is for publications which illustrate the intimate historical connection between the colonial history of the United States and of Canada.

The volume is extremely well cross-indexed, the method of arrangement is easy to follow, there are no cryptic abbreviations which are inadequately explained, and the type is unusually large and clear—a very excellent thing in a bibliography. The volume will prove an extremely useful addition to the constantly growing list of Canadian bibliographical guide-books.

ALISON EWART

Bio-bibliographie du R. P. Ephrem Longpré, O.F.M. Québec: Imprimerie Franciscaine Missionnaire. 1931. Pp. 40. I. *Les deux plus anciens livres Antoniens usités au Canada Français.* II. *Bibliographie Antonienne de la Province de Québec. Supplément (1910-1931).* Montréal: Imprimerie des Pères Franciscains. 1932. Pp. 35. *Bibliographie et iconographie du serviteur de dieu le R. P. Frédéric Janssoone, O.F.M. 1838-1916.* Québec: Imprimerie Franciscaine Missionnaire. 1932. Pp. 63. *Bibliographie Franciscaine: Inventaire des revues, livres, brochures et autres écrits publiés par les Franciscains du Canada. Supplément jusqu'à l'année 1931.* Québec: Imprimerie Franciscaine Missionnaire. 1932. Pp. 214. *Bibliographie du Tiers-Ordre séculier de Saint François au Canada (Province de Québec). Supplément pour les années 1921 à 1931.* Montréal: Imprimerie des Franciscains. 1932. Pp. 46. *Bibliographie du R. P. Hugolin de la Société Royale du Canada.* Montréal: Imprimerie des Franciscains. 1932. Pp. 50. *Notes bibliographiques pour servir à l'histoire des Récollets du Canada. I. Les écrits imprimés laissés par les Récollets.* Montréal: Imprimerie des Franciscains. 1932. Pp. 51. II. *Le Père Nicolas Viel.* Québec-Montréal: 1932. Pp. xxviii, 38. III. *Le serviteur de dieu Frère Didace Pelletier (1657-1699).* Québec: Imprimerie Franciscaine Missionnaire. 1932. Pp. 23.

ALL the above books are from the pen of Father Hugolin. It is no doubt an awe-inspiring array of publications and the author richly deserves a full meed of praise, especially from workers in the religious sphere,

for his assiduous energy; and also because his work should prove useful to searchers, however limited may be the field of a great part of it.

In almost every case the title of the book may be considered sufficiently explanatory to give a clear idea of its import. Consequently very little comment is required. The first pamphlet is devoted to the work of a Canadian, Father Longpré, a writer of repute on medieval philosophy. The second is confined to books relating to St. Anthony either used or printed in Canada. Father Janssoone is a Franciscan who spent an active life in Canada. The *Bibliographie Franciscaine* and *Bibliographie du Tiers-Ordre séculier* are self-explanatory as is also the *Bibliographie* of the author himself.

The three last pamphlets by Father Hugolin deserve special mention. The last one pertains more to hagiography than history, but the second has a long introduction replete with historical information about the Back River or Rivière des Prairies and Sault-au-Récollet, besides its valuable bibliography relating to Father Nicolas Viel, an early missionary who was drowned by the Hurons in 1625. As to the first of these pamphlets, the most important one, which is a list of books on Canada by the Récollets, it constitutes an interesting bibliographical contribution to the early history of New France. Besides subsequent editions, it enumerates over forty titles some of which are very little known, or very hard to find, each of them being accompanied by a bibliographical notice as to its nature and location—a useful piece of work.

GUSTAVE LANCTOT

Canadian Landscape Painters. By ALBERT ROBSON. Toronto: The Ryerson Press. 1932. Pp. 227; 75 illustrations in full colour. (\$7.50)

WHAT passes for criticism of art in Canada to-day suffers largely from insufficient knowledge of its subject. Only too often it is lacking in that historical method which traces origins and influences. In consequence, for the most part, it expresses merely personal preferences, current theories, or passing fashions. Mr. Robson's book lays the foundation of a sounder and more intelligent appraisal of Canadian art, in its most significant manifestation, landscape painting. While he makes only the modest claim of presenting an outline of the history of Canadian landscape art, he has succeeded, nevertheless, in producing a work that, perhaps, is the nearest approach to a really critical appreciation of the subject that has yet appeared. He supplies the facts, paints something of the atmosphere of the time, analyses and describes the temperaments of the artists and the character of their works, with the result that one gathers from his very readable pages a distinct and reasonable conception of the forces that have shaped the form of Canadian art. He takes into consideration its background of tradition, the influence of its physical environment, of its artistic personalities, and of the theories that condense the spirit of a period. He tells a plain tale, in language that is refreshingly free from the precious jargon which the professional critic of art so often seems to find it necessary to employ. Himself a capable painter in water-colour, Mr. Robson brings to his task sound technical knowledge, the experience of years of active contact

with Canadian art and artists, and a practical acquaintance with the conditions of art production that give weight and authority to his interpretation. Withal he is not lacking in subtle appreciation, nor in those graphic anecdotal touches that vitalize personalities and situations. His book is not overloaded with historical data; but it embodies the results of considerable research and contains much matter that hitherto has not been gathered together. One can find in it the essential facts concerning the sequence of events in the development of landscape painting in Canada; and one can rely upon the accuracy of its statements. In the bibliographical list a couple of mistakes may be noted; the author of *Artistes-peintres canadiens-français* is Georges Bellerive, not "Belluive", and "Blowden" Davies should be "Blodwen".

The physical aspect of the book is most harmonious; shape and size of page and margins, quality of printing, paper and binding, style of type, all in good taste and of excellent workmanship, together with the faithful reproductions in colour of its seventy-five pictures, combine to make a handsome volume that is a worthy setting for its subject and a highly creditable specimen of Canadian book-making.

CHARLES W. JEFFERYS

Tales of the North American Indians. Selected and annotated by STITH THOMPSON. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press. 1929. Pp. xxiii, 386; 1 map.

IN no part of the world have aboriginal folk-tales been collected as extensively and as systematically as in North America. Many have vanished irretrievably, particularly among the tribes of the eastern United States, but the published data are ample to illustrate the real, though almost indescribable, "feeling" of Indian mythology, and, with limitations, to provide for intensive study of distribution, accretion, style, and other phases. Unfortunately, the material is widely scattered, largely in scientific journals and in governmental reports; this fact, combined with its very mass, has limited its use by scholars. This has given scope for volumes of so-called Indian legends which, in many cases, reflect only what the writer thinks an Indian legend ought to be. Thompson has performed a distinct service by bringing together a series of representative tales, simplified but slightly from the original sources. Discarding as useless any attempt to classify on a basis of legend, myth, or story, he divides the material into six types according to theme, with the inevitable category of "miscellaneous", and two chapters on European tales told by Indians. Limitations of space have necessarily debarred some of the longest traditions, and a natural preference has been shown for coherent versions, but on the whole the selection is representative and satisfactory. Scientifically, the most valuable part of the book is that containing comparative notes and bibliography. Though denying any claim to completeness, Thompson has listed a large number of tribes in which are found themes or incidents recorded in his texts; this enables the student to find quickly the distribution of any of the principal American themes. Only those who have attempted similar studies can realize the labour involved. *Tales of the North American Indians* provides examples and copious references; it is both a general introduction to the literature

as a whole, and a guide to the student working on problems of distribution.

T. F. McILWRAITH

The Tread of the Pioneers. Written and edited by J. H. METCALFE. Under the distinguished patronage of the government of the Province of Manitoba, the corporation of the City of Portage la Prairie, the council of the rural municipality of Portage la Prairie. Published by the Portage la Prairie and District Old Timers' Association. Toronto: The Ryerson Press. 1932. Pp. xii, 305. (\$3.00)

THERE are a good many books on the Red River district, but this one, which was published in 1932, gives proof that there was room for one more. Its preparation, as the preface announces, was prompted by the desire to place on record before it was too late "the fast-diminishing information regarding the lives of the pioneers and old timers who were the real builders of this district". Mr. Metcalfe has done his work well. The book sets an example worthy of being followed in many another part of Canada where the early local history remains to be written. It consists mainly of brief descriptions of the pioneers of the Portage la Prairie district, narratives of their lives, and the recording of the recollections of the surviving men and women of that district whose memories go back over a long course of years. In dealing with the living memories that link the present of the Portage la Prairie district with its past, Mr. Metcalfe gives evidence of having brought to his work patience, sympathy, insight, and discrimination. The book has for frontispiece a reproduction in colour of a painting by Miss Lynn Sissons, granddaughter of Portage la Prairie pioneers, picturing the Hudson's Bay Company's post at Portage la Prairie, which is now remembered only by the oldest of the residents of the district; there are also included many reproductions of photographs of the men and women whose lives it records.

W. J. HEALY

CORRESPONDENCE

(We have received from Mr. Robert Orchard of Trinity College School, Port Hope, Ontario, the following interesting comment on the diary of Lieut.-Col. Robert D. Rogers, a portion of which was published in the REVIEW of December last):

R. D. Rogers was a private in the Cobourg Rifles during the Rebellion of 1837, and their march to Toronto, which occupies the first few days of the diary, is described in some detail in the *Cobourg Star* for 1847-8 under the heading: "The adventures of the Cobourg Rifles, during the campaign of 1837. Written by one of themselves."

There is serious disagreement between the diary and the narrative as regards dates. In the latter the Rifles set out from Cobourg on December 6, and only spent two nights on the way (at De la Rey's Tavern in Hope and at Post's in Pickering). According to Rogers, they spent a night at Bowmanville as well. We naturally expect a diary to be more accurate than a memoir, but the distance between De la Rey's and Bowmanville is only fourteen miles, a small amount for a day's forced marching, seeing that the day before they managed thirteen miles on a late start. Rogers has over-estimated distances. The real distance from De la Rey's to Post's (or Mr. Lee's) is thirty-one miles and twenty-five (not thirty-four) from there to Toronto.

De la Rey's Inn, six miles west of Port Hope, is almost certainly Marsh's Tavern, which, together with Post's in Pickering, is standing to this day. They set out from De la Rey's on the second day, after a very early breakfast of cold, fat pork, and boiled potatoes. According to the "Adventures" Bowmanville was reached about noon and they rested there an hour. The incidents connected with the capture of Dr. Hunter and the other prisoners are described in detail. Hunter was taken at his house in Whitby Township, was tried in Toronto, and acquitted. "The acquittal of Dr. Hunter, however," says the account, "must not be taken as evidence of the non-existence of plots. Under the shadow of 'Township Clubs' strange things had been ripening."

It was dark when the Rifles got to Post's, and while there they were overtaken by the Cavan Militia, "armed with sticks, bayonets, muskets without locks, and in short with whatever came first to hand". When they set out next day the Cobourg Rifles, under Captain Warren, headed the column, followed by Captain James Rogers' Cavalry. After these came the Port Hope Rifles, under Colonel Kingsmill, "and the Boys of Cavan brought up the rear". It was thus, presumably, that the Newcastle District Militia marched into Toronto, a line of 1,750 strong, "very extended, but not very stately". It is amusing to read that when they attempted a salute, earlier in the day, it was found that only eight out of nearly forty firearms would go off.

Most regrettably, the account as published in the *Cobourg Star* was carried no further. It proved a trifle tedious, perhaps, being padded throughout with irrelevant yarns. Moreover the events themselves were only ten years old and likely to be common knowledge.

NOTES AND COMMENTS

THE annual meeting for 1933 of the Canadian Historical Association was held at the Public Archives, Ottawa, on May 22 and 23. Although the attendance was small, as was to be expected at the present time, the interest was keen and the papers were uniformly of a high calibre. Dr. Webster, in his presidential address, "The classics of Acadia", examined the value of the writings of Champlain, Lescarbot, Denys, Le Clercq, and Diéreville, his comments on the last being especially interesting in view of the work of translation and editing on which he is now engaged. Dr. Webster made an admirable presiding officer. His plea for scholarship and the value of research will not soon be forgotten by those who heard it.

Papers were read as follows: F. H. Soward of the University of British Columbia, "Canada and the Far Eastern crisis"; W. M. Whitelaw of Rutgers University, "An approach to Canadian cultural history"; F. H. Underhill of the University of Toronto, "The political ideas of John S. Ewart"; E. R. Adair, "The church and parish of L'Acadie", an excellent study in local history based primarily on the parish records; Gustave Lanctot of the Public Archives, Ottawa, "La Roche et l'établissement de l'Île au Sable", in which by the use of new evidence the hitherto accepted story was largely discredited; F. J. Audet of the Public Archives, Ottawa, "Officials of Upper Canada, political and judicial, 1791-1841"; Margaret Ells of the Archives of Nova Scotia, "Clearing the decks for the Loyalists"; and D. C. Harvey, archivist of the Province of Nova Scotia, "The struggle for New England township government". The papers by Miss Ells and Mr. Harvey break new ground in the history of Nova Scotia. Mr. Harvey traced the unsuccessful attempt to gain the adoption of the system of the New England town in local government. Miss Ells cleared up in detail the elaborate process of escheating by which in the 1780's lands were re-acquired by the crown in order that they might be available for the Loyalists.

The Association met concurrently with the Canadian Political Science Association and, for the first time, a joint session and a joint luncheon were held. It was the unanimous opinion that the practice should be continued. Two excellent papers were read at the joint session: "The commercial class in Canadian politics, 1792 to 1840", by D. G. Creighton of the University of Toronto; and "The political ideas of Sir John A. Macdonald", by T. W. L. MacDermot of McGill University.

Professor D. McArthur of Queen's University was elected president of the Historical Association, and Mr. F. J. Audet of the Public Archives, Ottawa, vice-president.

The BULLETIN of the John Rylands Library, Manchester, for January, 1933, has an interesting note on "a conference of record and allied societies and institutions, organized by the British Record Society, and held on the 14th November, 1932, in the Old Hall, Lincoln's Inn, under the Chairmanship of the Master of the Rolls (Lord Hanworth), when the

'British Records Association' was duly inaugurated, with the adoption of a constitution, and the election of officers and council". The note says in part: "It is a matter of common knowledge that there are in private hands an incalculable number of old deeds, leases, settlements, letters, wills, and other papers, the accumulation perhaps of centuries, which may not have any great value from the point of view of national history, but which are of the utmost importance as local records. Such collections, which may have been temporarily stored for want of better accommodation in stables, outhouses, or other unsuitable buildings, where they are likely to suffer irreparable damage from damp and neglect, are frequently turned out by thoughtless executors of estates as worthless lumber." This comment applies with equal if not greater force to Canada. Conditions in Canada seem to make impossible, for the present at least, a national organization along the lines projected in England. The burden of doing this invaluable work of collection and preservation rests primarily on the various provincial archives, which are seriously handicapped by lack of funds, and on the local historical societies some of which are quietly doing very effective work under great difficulties. The contribution which the local societies may make along these lines to the general history of the dominion is one of essential importance. The REVIEW makes no apology for taking every opportunity to reiterate this opinion. The value of such work will be cumulative as time goes on.

The first paper in this issue was written, shortly before his death, by the late John S. Ewart. Mr. J. W. Dafoe, editor of the *Winnipeg free press* and a widely known authority on constitutional problems, kindly consented to write the comment on Mr. Ewart's article. The discussion of Prince Edward Island's entrance into Confederation by Mr. D. C. Harvey, archivist of the Province of Nova Scotia, is the most thorough treatment of that subject which has appeared, and marks appropriately the sixtieth anniversary of the event. Mr. C. P. Stacey of the Graduate School of Cornell University in his article on Fort Wellington throws light on the conditions which preceded the withdrawal of the imperial force from Canada. The contributors to the Notes and Documents section are Mrs. Long of Tillsonburg, Ont., and Mr. G. de T. Glazebrook of the University of Toronto. The review article is by Mr. Louis Hamilton of the University of Berlin whose assistance in keeping the REVIEW in touch with German publications has been of great value.

CANADIAN HISTORICAL SOCIETIES

Art, Historical and Scientific Association of Vancouver. Owing to the financial grant to the City Museum of Vancouver (which is under the direction of the association) having been heavily reduced, it is impossible for the present to continue the publication of the quarterly *Museum and art notes*. However, it is hoped that this will only be a temporary measure and in the meantime, material is being issued in mimeographed form.

Canadian Geographical Society. The annual meeting was held in the National Museum in Ottawa on February 16, 1933. President, Dr. Charles Camsell, deputy minister of mines; secretary, Ernest S. Martindale; editorial office, fifth floor, Sun Life Building, Montreal.

The *Canadian Jewish Historical Society* recently honoured Dr. Zvi Cohen at a banquet on the occasion of the completion of "Canadian Jewry", an encyclopaedic work about Jews in Canada.

The *Champlain Society* has issued its twenty-sixth annual report for 1932. Within a few months the fifth volume of Champlain's works will be ready for distribution, and the council of the society has been laying plans for the publication of a number of interesting volumes in the future: Dr. and Mrs. J. C. Webster will continue the project of translating and editing Diéreville's *Port Royale*, which Professor Ganong has been compelled, through pressure of circumstances, to give up; Mr. J. B. Tyrrell will edit with notes and introduction a volume of journals of Samuel Hearne, Philip Turnor, and Peter Fidler during the years 1772-92, copies of which he has secured from Hudson's Bay House; and documents relating to the history of the North West Company, from the archives of the Hudson's Bay Company, will be published in a forthcoming volume. President, the Hon. Mr. Justice Armour; secretaries, Harold Walker, and W. Stewart Wallace.

The *Historical Association of Annapolis Royal* celebrated its fourteenth anniversary of organization on May 1 and Miss H. L. Hardy, the secretary of the association, gave an illustrated lecture on the national parks of Canada. The honorary president, Dr. J. C. Webster represented the association at the annual meeting of the Royal Society in May.

Oxford Historical Society. Early in the year the society installed its collection of historical articles in a room provided at the court-house in Woodstock by the Oxford County Council. The collection has been greatly augmented by private donations and loans since quarters were obtained, and the museum has been open to the public each Wednesday afternoon and evening, with Miss Louise Hill, curator, in charge. President, A. H. Wilson; secretary, W. E. Elliott, 446 Hunter Street, Woodstock, Ont.

The *Portage and District Old Timers' Association* has just published *The tread of the pioneers*, written and edited by J. H. Metcalf (reviewed in this issue). President, Jonathan Troop; secretary, Keith Stewart, Portage la Prairie, Manitoba.

The *Roseau County Historical Society* has published *Discovery of Lake of the Woods* by the Rev. Father d'Eschambault of the Société Historique de St. Boniface.

The *Royal Society of Canada* held its annual meeting in Kingston on May 17, 18, 19, 20. The papers that were read will be published in the society's transactions and will be noted in the REVIEW's "List of recent publications". The Flavell and Tyrrell medals were presented respectively to Mr. J. B. Tyrrell and His Honour Judge F. W. Howay.

The *Similkameen Historical Association* held its quarterly meeting in Princeton, B.C., on April 28. An interesting paper was read by Miss Jessie Ewart, on the geology of the Princeton area. This address appeared in the local paper, and reprints were sent to members of the

association. Mr. S. R. Gibson told of findings of gold and platinum in the Tulameen valley in the early days, and a delightful story woven around a gold cache in Rock Creek in the '60's was read by Mr. W. F. Eddy. Numerous photographs have been added to the society's collection and the members are interesting themselves in the preservation of the Indian pictographs along the roads of the district. (J. GOOD-FELLOW)

Société Historique de St. Boniface. President, Judge Prud'Homme; secretary, the Rev. Father d'Eschambault, Archbishop's Palace, St. Boniface, Manitoba.

Thunder Bay Historical Society. A feature of last year's annual meeting of the society at Fort William, was a joint conference with Cook County Historical Society of Minnesota. President, Dr. G. E. Eakins; secretary, Mrs. E. R. Patrick, 54 Shuniah Road, Port Arthur.

The *Waterloo Historical Society* held its twentieth annual meeting on October 21, 1932, and addresses were given by Dr. T. E. Kaiser on "Sidelights upon the Pennsylvania Dutch of Ontario" and Mr. W. V. Uttley on the history of Berlin (now Kitchener). The twentieth annual report of the society has just reached the office of the CANADIAN HISTORICAL REVIEW and the historical papers printed therein will be listed later in the REVIEW's "List of recent publications". The report contains a catalogue of the society's museum in the Kitchener Public Library. From small beginnings this collection has become fairly large and includes files of early newspapers, maps, books, documents, photographs, pioneer handicraft, etc., relating to the early history of the county. President, D. N. Panabaker; secretary, P. Fisher, Kitchener, Ontario; curator of the museum, Jos. M. Snyder.

The *York and Sunbury Historical Society* began its second year with a membership of 110 and meetings were held monthly at which papers relating to the history of York and Sunbury Counties were read. These papers have been published in whole or in part in the *Fredericton Gleaner* and the *Fredericton Daily mail*. The three rooms of the society's museum are filled almost to capacity with historical relics illustrating different periods in the history of New Brunswick, including implements and pottery used by the Indians in very early days; a few relics of the early French period found about St. Joseph Fort; a number of military commissions of the Revolutionary War, and a few uniforms brought to New Brunswick by the Loyalists; the Wilmot collection which consists of relics of Lieutenant Governor L. A. Wilmot who played a large part in bringing about responsible government for New Brunswick.

The library of the society is growing rapidly and includes a varied collection of Canadiana.

An interesting and very successful entertainment given recently featured pictures of Fredericton as it was fifty years ago, with various acts depicting old-time scenes in the early life of the city. (R. P. GORHAM)

York Pioneer and Historical Society. President, Professor D. R. Keys, 87 Avenue Road, Toronto.

RECENT PUBLICATIONS RELATING TO CANADA

(Notice in this section does not preclude a later and more extended review.)

I. THE RELATIONS OF CANADA WITHIN THE EMPIRE

- AMERY, L. S. *What we have gained from Ottawa* (Spectator, no. 5, 467, April 7, 1933, 491-2). An assessment of the gains of the Conference from the point of view of the United Kingdom.
- BAXENDALE, A. S. *Empire and world currency*. London: Commonweal Press. 1932. Pp. 57.
- ECKERT, CHRISTIAN. *Alter und neuer Imperialismus*. (Kieler Vorträge, no. 39.) Jena: Fischer. 1932. Pp. 46. The writer discusses the post-war imperialism of Great Britain, the United States, and the U.S.S.R. and states that Britain has been the quickest to make the necessary adjustments.
- Englands Aufstieg und Gefährdung in der Weltwirtschaft. Berlin: Junker und Dünhaupt. 1932. Pp. 66. (M. 2. 80) A brief sketch of British trade and colonial policy and the effects of the War on empire and trade.
- GRONDONA, L. ST. CLARE. *Britons in partnership*. London: L. Dickson, 1932. Pp. 188. (3s. 6d.) A programme for the rational development of the empire.
- HIGHAM, C. S. S. *History of the British Empire*. 4th edition revised and enlarged. New York: Longmans, Green and Company. 1931. Pp. x, 308. (\$1.75). Has two additional chapters covering developments in the commonwealth during the last ten years.
- Imperial Economic Conference at Ottawa, 1932*. Summary of proceedings and copies of trade agreements. London: H.M.S.O. 1932. Appendices. Reports of committees, statements, addresses.
- KEITH, ARTHUR BERRIEDALE. *The constitutional law of the British dominions*. London: Macmillan and Company. 1933. Pp. xxvi, 522. (\$5.50) To be reviewed later.
- Notes on imperial constitutional law (Journal of comparative legislation and international law, 3rd series XV (1), Feb., 1933, 117-23). To be reviewed later.
- LARKE, Sir WILLIAM. *Ottawa and the iron and steel industry* (United Empire, XXIV (4), April, 1933, 208-11). An address by the director of the National Federation of Iron and Steel Manufacturers on the agreement made at Ottawa with regard to iron and steel.
- LATTIMER, J. E. *Intra-empire trade: The opportunity for agriculture* (Scientific agriculture, Jan., 1933, 281-303).
- LHOMME, J. *La conférence économique d'Ottawa et ses résultats* (Revue générale de droit international public, VII (2), March-April, 1933, 181-205).
- LO VERDE, GIUSEPPE. *Rapporti di diritto dei dominions con la Gran Bretagna et loro posizione nel diritto internazionale*. Palermo: Tipografia Michele Montaina, via Università, 38. 1931. Pp. 226. To be reviewed later.
- MCARTHUR, D. *London, Washington, and Ottawa* (Queen's quarterly, XL (2), May, 1933, 289-96). A survey of present commercial relations and policies.
- MACDONNELL, J. M. *After the Ottawa Conference* (Foreign affairs, XI (3), Jan., 1933, 381-46). An analysis of the results of the Conference and the agreements in so far as they affect Canada and the United Kingdom, from the point of view of the United States.

- McFADYEAN, Sir ANDREW. *International repercussions of the Ottawa agreements* (International affairs, XII (1), Jan.-Feb., 1933, 37-59).
- _____. *Ottawa: The other side* (Spectator, no. 5, 468, April 14, 1933, 529-30). A criticism of the Ottawa agreements from the point of view of the United Kingdom.
- MACKAY, HECTOR. *Deux aspects internationaux des accords d'Ottawa* (L'actualité économique, 9 année, no. 1, avril, 1933, 21-6). An examination of the consequences of the Ottawa agreements from the point of view of foreign trade.
- MENZEL, H. *Entwicklung und Theorie des British Commonwealth of Nations* (Zeitschrift für Öffentliches Recht, XII (5), 1932, 737-74).
- MORGAN, Sir BENJAMIN. *The Ottawa agreements and their implications* (United Empire, XXIV (2), Feb., 1933, 97-100). Notes of an address.
- OLLIVIER, MAURICE. *Le Statut de Westminster, étude de l'évolution politique au Canada* (Revue trimestrielle canadienne, no. 73, mars, 1933, 12-44). A résumé of a doctoral thesis presented before the Faculty of Law of the University of Montreal in 1933. The writer examines the successive steps which mark Canada's development from a colony to a sovereign state.
- The Ottawa policy* (Liberal magazine, Nov., 1932).
- ROBBINS, L. *The Ottawa resolutions on finance and the future of monetary policy* (Lloyds Bank, monthly review, Oct., 1932, 17).
- STEPHEN, ALAN. *The Empire Marketing Board* (Queen's quarterly, XI (2), May, 1933, 253-60). An assessment of the work and value of the most important of the existing agencies of imperial economic co-operation.
- STEWART, MAXWELL S. *Ottawa Conference* (Foreign policy reports, New York, Dec. 21, 1932). A review of the background, the terms, and the significance of the Ottawa agreements.
- THEMAAT, H. ver LOREN van. *The equality of status of the dominions and the sovereignty of the British parliament* (Journal of comparative legislation and international law, 3rd series, XV (1), Feb., 1933, 47-53).
- VANHOUCHE, M. L.] *Le IIIe Empire britannique* (L'actualité économique, 9 année, no. 1, avril, 1933, 47-9). Extracts from an article in the *Bulletin d'études et d'informations* on the development of the British Commonwealth.
- WALTER, HANS. *Die Stellung der Dominien im Verfassungssystem des Britischen Reiches im Jahre 1931*. Leipzig: Tauchnitz. 1932. Pp. 99. (M. 4. 50) A very excellent Continental appreciation of the question of the position of the dominions in the constitutional system of the empire.
- What Ottawa achieved* (United Empire, XXIV (3), March, 1933, 154-7). An address by MALCOLM MACDONALD, Esq., parliamentary under-secretary of state for dominion affairs.

II. HISTORY OF CANADA

(1) General History

- BABCOCK, F. LAWRENCE. *Spanning the Atlantic*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf. 1931. Pp. 227, vii; illustrations. (\$5.00) This can scarcely be termed, as its preface suggests, a general history of the Cunard Steamship Company since it is confined almost exclusively to a discussion of the company's vessels and general policy during the past hundred years. It is, however, a vivid and useful book, providing an excellent outline of the evolution of trans-Atlantic shipping in general. A wide range of material is suggested in the bibliography. Of special interest to Canadian students are the first fifty pages giving the story of Samuel Cunard's early career in Halifax—a chapter in Canadian history which should be much more widely known than it is.

- BINGHAM, ROBERT W. *The cradle of the queen city: A history of Buffalo to the incorporation of the city.* (Publications of the Buffalo Historical Society, XXXI.) Buffalo: Buffalo Historical Society. 1931. Pp. xiii, 504. As this volume deals with the history of Buffalo and its environs from the earliest days of French exploration to the incorporation of the city in 1832, it necessarily touches Canadian history at many points. In the early chapters on the French period the history of the region is given in relation to the wider background of the Anglo-French rivalry in the seventeenth century and the narrative is maintained with considerable interest in spite of an over-abundance of details. The last two-thirds of the volume, dealing with the years after 1800, bring together a great mass of facts in a loosely arranged chronological and topical order with, unfortunately, little attempt to sift out the significant materials or to analyze the reasons for the city's rapid growth. Readers interested in the detailed history of the Niagara region, will, however, find many bits of information to attract their attention. (G. W. B.)
- COLE, DOUGLAS S. *Adventurers of Bristol* (Canadian geographical journal, VI (2), Feb., 1933, 83-91). Stories of voyages and explorers that connect Bristol with the discovery of Canada.
- FERGUSON, JOHN. *History of the Ontario Medical Association, 1880-1930.* Toronto: Murray Printing Company. 1930. Pp. 142.
- FLICK, ALEXANDER C. (ed.). *History of the State of New York.* In ten volumes. Published under the auspices of the New York State Historical Association. Vol. I: *Wigwam and Bouwerie*; Vol. II: *Under duke and king.* New York: Columbia University Press. 1933. Pp. xxxi, 361; xii, 437. (\$5.00 per volume) To be reviewed later.
- HAWS, G. W. *The Haws family and their seafaring kin.* (Printed for private circulation.) Dunfermline: J. B. Mackie and Company, St. Margaret Street. 1932. Pp. 252, xvi. To be reviewed later.
- KENNEDY, W. P. M. and FINKELMAN, J. *The right to trade: An essay in the law of tort.* With an appendix of Canadian cases. (University of Toronto studies in history and economics, no. 2.) Toronto: University of Toronto Press. 1933. Pp. xvii, 134. (\$2.50) This is a technical volume dealing with the right to trade in the common law of torts. While the common law discussed applies to the common law provinces of Canada, yet the great interest of the volume for Canadian readers will be the complete index of Canadian cases.
- LARSON, LAURENCE M. *A history of England and the British Commonwealth.* Revised edition. New York: Holt. 1932. Pp. x, 916. (\$4.00) While this volume does not lie directly within the scope of the CANADIAN HISTORICAL REVIEW, the fact that it gives special attention to the expansion of English rule and institutions both in the British Isles and overseas is worthy of mention here. The development of the colonies in America is not treated, as is so often the case, merely as an appendage to English political history. The all too common defect of text-books in giving an undue emphasis to "recent" history is also avoided. (G. W. B.)
- MACHADO, CARLOS ROMA, de FARIA e MAIA. *Prioridade dos portugueses no descobrimento da America do Norte e ilhas da America Central: Considerações sobre um grande livro americano. Justificação da comemoração dos Corte-Reaes.* Lisbon, Portugal: Tipog. e Papellaria Carmona, Rua da Escola Politecnica, 265. 1931. Pp. 19.
- The new governor of Newfoundland* (United Empire, XXIV (2), Feb., 1933, 82-4). Speeches which give side-lights on the career of Admiral Sir Murray Anderson, governor-designate of Newfoundland.
- PAXSON, FREDERIC L. *A generation of the frontier hypothesis, 1893-1932* (Pacific historical review, II (1), March, 1933, 34-51). An examination of the frontier theory of Frederick Jackson Turner.

POWELL, ALDEN L. *McCulloch v. Maryland in Canada and Australia* (Michigan law review, XXXI (6), April, 1933, 797 ff.). This short discussion of the immunity of governmental instrumentalities and of the influence of *McCulloch v. Maryland* (4 Wheat. U.S. 316; 1819) on Canadian and Australian constitutional law is somewhat ill informed and out of date. The author is not acquainted with the most recent decisions and the discussions connected with them. As a consequence his review is of little value. (W. P. M. K.)

A report of the round tables and general conferences at the twelfth session of the Institute of Politics at Williamstown. New Haven: Yale University Press. Pp. 495. Of interest to Canadians are the reports of the general conferences on the St. Lawrence waterway and the Ottawa Conference.

SASCO, E. *L'organisation judiciaire et l'administration de la justice aux îles Saint-Pierre et Miquelon.* Saint-Pierre: Impr. du Gouvernement. 1932. Pp. 71.

SHETELIG, H. *They first saw Canada* (Canadian magazine, March, 1933, 8, 32-4). An account of the Norse voyages and sagas.

(2) New France

BURPEE, LAWRENCE J. *La Vérendrye—pathfinder of the west* (Canadian geographical journal, VI (4), April, 1933, 159-68). An account of his explorations illustrated by prints and sketch maps.

Conseil entre les sauvages Abénakis de Roersck et M. le Marquis de Vaudreuil (Bulletin des recherches historiques, XXXIX (5), mai, 1933, 310-1). Dated Quebec, June 13, 1704. From the Archives of the Province of Quebec.

DESCHAMPS, PAUL; BESSON, MAURICE; REUSSNER, ANDRÉ; TRAMOND, JOANNÈS; LACHARRIÈRE, J. LADREIT de; HARDY, GEORGES, avec le concours de ROUSSIER, PAUL. *Les colonies et la vie française pendant huit siècles.* Paris: Firmin-Didot, 56 rue Jacob. 1933. Pp. vii, 238. This finely printed volume was published in connection with the great Colonial Exhibition held at Paris in 1931. Among its chapters intended for general readers, and dealing with France's eight centuries of colonial expansion, the Canadian students would be interested in reading the two chapters by André Reussner, and Joannès Tramond on the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. With a few minor blemishes, they contain suggestive considerations on the colonial policy of the period. (GUSTAVE LANCTOT)

DUGUID, A. F. *The tricolour in Canada* (Canadian defence quarterly, X (2), Jan., 1933, 212-7). Notes on the arrival and use of the tricolour in Canada.

ESCHAMBAULT, Rev. Father d'. *Discovery of Lake of the Woods: Graphic story of early French explorations two hundred years ago, on Lake of the Woods and what is now Roseau County.* Published by Roseau County Historical Society. Roseau Printing Company. 1932. Pp. [14.] A vivid résumé of the arrival of La Vérendrye at the Lake of the Woods.

GOODRICH, ALBERT M. and NUTE, GRACE LEE. *The Radisson problem* (Minnesota history, XIII (3), Sept., 1932, 245-67). An attempt to solve the problem of Radisson's narrative of his western explorations.

Habitans de l'Isle Royale et de Québec (Bulletin des recherches historiques, XXXIX (4), avril, 1933, 232-46). A roll of names (1762) taken from the Archives de la Charente Inférieure, série B, 282 (copy in Archives of the Province of Quebec).

HACKETT, CHARLES WILSON. *Policy of the Spanish crown regarding French encroachments from Louisiana, 1721-1762 (New Spain and the Anglo-American west; Historical contributions presented to Herbert Eugene Bolton, Los Angeles, 1932, I, 107-145).* The policy of the Spanish crown in this period is presented through the use of a valuable compilation of extracts from royal cédulas and orders relating chiefly to Louisiana and Texas.

- JÉGO, J. Bte. *Le drame du peuple Acadien*. Paris: En vente chez M. l'abbé Vincent, 1, rue Jean-Dolent. 1932. Pp. 119. "Reconstitution historique en neuf tableaux et une pose plastique de la dispersion des Acadiens. D'après 'La tragédie d'un peuple' d'Emile Lauvrière".
- LANCOT, GUSTAVE. *Le traître Pichon* (Bulletin des recherches historiques, XXXIX (5), mai, 1933, 272-5). Two letters concerning the spy of Beauséjour. See the *Bulletin* for June, 1930, p. 328, etc.
- LAUVRIÈRE, EMILE. *Jean de Poutrincourt, fondateur du Port-Royal d'Acadie* (Revue d'histoire des colonies, jan.-fév., 1933, 55-70). A biographical survey and an appreciation.
- LE JEUNE, LOUIS. *Le chevalier Pierre Le Moyne, sieur d'Iberville, deuxième campagne: A Corlaer et à la Baie d'Hudson (1690-1691)* (Revue de l'Université d'Ottawa, III (2), avril-juin, 1932, 206-17).
- Lettre de M. Hocquart au ministre (7 octobre 1731)* (Bulletin des recherches historiques, XXXIX (2), fév., 1933, 121-3). A letter, from the Archives of the Province of Quebec, referring to the arrival of munitions, stores, etc.
- MASSICOTTE, E. Z. *Les Montréalais et les deux forts de Toronto* (Bulletin des recherches historiques, XXXIX (5), mai, 1933, 259-66). Interesting facts culled from the Archives judiciaires de Montréal concerning the first two forts at Toronto, constructed 1750-51.
- MEGGLÉ, ARMAND. *Terres Françaises: Nos vieilles colonies d'Asie, d'Océanie et d'Amérique*. Paris: Société Française d'Éditions, 77, rue des Saints-Pères. 1931. Pp. 208. (15 fr.)
- Mémoire concernant les limites des colonies présenté en 1720, par le Sr Bobe, prêtre de la Congrégation de la Mission* (Bulletin des recherches historiques, XXXIX (2), fév., 1933, 89-104; (3), mars, 1933, 131-51). A memorandum sent by the intendant Bigot to the Marquis de Puysieux on August 1, 1750. Transcribed from the Archives of the Province of Quebec.
- Mémoire du roi pour servir d'instruction au sieur de Voulrou, lieutenant de vaisseau, sur le service qu'il doit rendre dans le voyage qu'il doit faire à Québec (4 mai 1716)* (Bulletin des recherches historiques, XXXIX (5), mai, 1933, 301-3). From the Archives de la Marine, Paris. Copy in the Archives of the Province of Quebec.
- Les Méthot* (Bulletin des recherches historiques, XXXIX (2), fév., 1933, 80-1). Genealogical notes.
- Nos registres de l'état-civil: Ordonnance de Louis XIV, roi de France et de Navarre (avril 1667) (titre IX)* (Bulletin des recherches historiques, XXXIX (5), mai, 1933, 304-7). From the Archives of the Province of Quebec.
- Ordonnance de M. Bochart Champigny sur une requête de Jacques de Mareuil, lieutenant réformé des troupes du détachement de la marine, pour obliger le sieur Dupré, curé de Québec, de lui donner copie d'un écrit lu par lui à la grand-messe paroissiale et fort préjudiciable au dit sieur de Mareuil (19 janvier 1694)* (Bulletin des recherches historiques, XXXIX (2), fév., 1933, 125-7). From the Archives Judiciaires de Québec, greffe de Chambalon.
- Où était situé le fort Sainte-Thérèse?* (Bulletin des recherches historiques, XXXIX (5), mai, 1933, 308-9). A note on the situation of Fort Sainte-Thérèse between Chambly and Saint-Jean (built 1665).
- Où se trouvait le fort des Hurons à l'île d'Orléans?* (Bulletin des recherches historiques, XXXIX (5), mai, 1933, 316-7).

Paroles des Abenakis de St. François au capitaine Stevens, député du gouverneur de Boston, en présence de M. le baron de Longueuil, gouverneur intérimaire du Canada, et des Iroquois de Sault St. Louis et du Lac des Deux-Montagnes (le 5 juillet 1752) (Bulletin des recherches historiques, XXXIX (2), fév., 1933, 109-12). From the Archives of the Province of Quebec.

Paroles des sauvages au Gouverneur de Vaudreuil avec ses réponses (14 novembre 1703) (Bulletin des recherches historiques, XXXIX (3), mars, 1933, 163-76). From the Archives of the Province of Quebec.

Réponse de M. de Longueuil aux chefs du poste de la Rivière Blanche (19 juin 1700) (Bulletin des recherches historiques, XXXIX (4), avril, 1933, 250-1). From the Archives of the Province of Quebec, correspondance générale.

ROY, PIERRE-GEORGES. *Inventaire des jugements et délibérations du Conseil Supérieur de la Nouvelle-France de 1717 à 1760. Vol. I.* (Archives de la Province de Québec.) Beauceville: "L'Eclaireur", Limitée. 1932. Pp. 355. (\$2.00) To be reviewed later.

— *Inventaire des procès-verbaux des grands voyers conservés aux Archives de la Province de Québec. Vol. VI.* (Archives de la Province de Québec.) Beauceville: "L'Eclaireur", Limitée. 1932. Pp. 303. (\$2.00) To be reviewed later.

— *Notes historiques sur la famille Dugas* (Bulletin des recherches historiques, XXXIX (4), avril, 1933, 193-4). Notes on an old Acadian family.

TYLER, WILLARD C. *The siege and capture of Louisburg* (Proceedings of the United States Naval Institute, LVIII, Jan., 1933, 81-7).

VAILLANCOURT, EMILE. *La conquête du Canada par les Normands: Biographie de la première génération normande du Canada.* Revue et annotée par le R. P. ARCHANGE GODBOUT. Préface d'EGIDIUS FAUTEUX. 2^e édition. Paris: Eugène Dumont; Montréal: G. Ducharme, 995, Blvd. Saint-Laurent. 1933. Pp. 262. The first edition of this work was reviewed in the CANADIAN HISTORICAL REVIEW, XI, 257. The second edition adds revisions and information from the Archives de la Seine-Inférieure, du Calvados, de l'Eure, et de la Manche.

WILSON, CLIFFORD. *Adventurers all: Tales of forgotten heroes in New France.* With nine illustrations by A. SHERRIFF SCOTT. Toronto: The Macmillan Company of Canada. 1933. Pp. xvi, 244. (\$2.00) A series of stories for children written after the manner of *Puck of Pook's Hill*. Following Mr. Kipling's inspiration the author makes the various characters from the French régime appear to two Canadian children, and tell the story of their adventures in New France. The tales are told in a racy, colloquial, easy style, giving the adventurous atmosphere, if not always the historical fact, of the romantic past of Talon and Frontenac down to the last days of Wolfe and Montcalm.

(3) British North America before 1867

Amusing extracts from HBC journals (Beaver, (4), March, 1933, 199-201). Extracts on a variety of subjects from journals and documents of the Company's posts on Hudson Bay in the times of Captain James Knight, Henry Kelsey, etc.

AUDET, FRANCIS-J. *François Vézina* (Bulletin des recherches historiques, XXXIX (2), fév., 1933, 117-20). A biographical account of a banker and economist of Quebec (1818-1882).

— *Oyer and Terminer and General Gaol delivery* (Bulletin des recherches historiques, XXXIX (4), avril, 1933, 216-9). A list of the personnel of the Commissions of Oyer and Terminer and General Gaol Delivery in the Province of Quebec (established 1764) from 1764 to January, 1792.

— *Procureurs généraux de la Province de Québec (1764-1791)* (Bulletin des recherches historiques, XXXIX (5), mai, 1933, 276-7).

- BARRY, J. NEILSON. *Fort Reed and Fort Boise, 1814-35* (Oregon historical quarterly, XXXIV (1), March, 1933, 60-7). An attempt to fix the location of two fur-trading posts in the Oregon country.
- and BARR, HY MAX. *Redskin and pioneer: Brave tales of the great northwest*. Illustrated with drawings by WILLIAM WALLACE CLARKE. New York, Chicago, San Francisco: Rand McNally and Company. 1932. Pp. 244. True stories (with the exception of the myth of Teleska and Wallona) of pioneering days in the Oregon country. Illustrations and maps show the places where the scenes are laid. Notes at the ends of the chapters give the historical facts and the sources.
- BELLOT, H. HALE. *The mainland colonies in the eighteenth century* (History, n.s. XVII (68), Jan., 1933, 344-54). The need is pointed out for a study of colonial and imperial legislatures during the seventy-five years preceding the American Revolution.
- BLUE, GEORGE VERN. *France and the Oregon question* (Oregon historical quarterly, XXXIV (1), March, 1933, 38-59). An analysis of the French point of view in the Anglo-American dispute over the Oregon country.
- BURNETT, EDMUND C. (ed.). *Letters of members of the Continental Congress*. Vol. VI, March 1, 1781, to December 31, 1782. Washington, D.C.: Published by Carnegie Institution of Washington. 1933. Pp. liii, 599. To be reviewed later.
- CRAVEN, W. F. *Dissolution of the Virginia Company: The failure of a colonial experiment*. London: Oxford University Press. 1932. Pp. 358. (12s. 6d.)
- Edward-Allen Talbot à L'Ile d'Orléans (Bulletin des recherches historiques, XXXIX (2), fév., 1933, 84-5). The impressions of a tourist to Canada in 1818.
- L'enquête sur la justice de 1787 (Bulletin des recherches historiques, XXXIX (2), fév., 1933, 113-6). Documents from the Bibliothèque Saint-Sulpice in Montreal concerning the investigation in 1787 of the administration of justice in the Province of Quebec.
- La famille Cooke (Bulletin des recherches historiques, XXXIX (2), fév., 1933, 65-6).
- FRENCH, ALLEN. *General Gage's informers: New material upon Lexington and Concord. Benjamin Thompson as Loyalist and the treachery of Benjamin Church, jr.* Ann Arbor, Michigan: The University of Michigan Press. 1932. Pp. xv, 207. To be reviewed later.
- GUILLET, EDWIN C. *Early life in Upper Canada*. Toronto: The Ontario Publishing Company. 1933. Pp. xliii, 782. (\$6.00) Reviewed on page 212.
- HARVEY, D. C. *The intellectual awakening of Nova Scotia* (Dalhousie review, XIII (1), April, 1933, 1-22). An examination of the forces and agencies at work in Nova Scotian history that converged to produce the intellectual awakening of 1835-1848, with its culmination in responsible government.
- HEMMEON, J. C. *The British North American provinces before Confederation—trade and tariffs (Facts and factors in economic history*, Cambridge, Mass., 1932, pp. 328-37). A study of trade and tariffs as they existed before 1867 in what are now the Maritime Provinces of Canada.
- L'Honorable Juge Pierre-Antoine Doucet (Bulletin des recherches historiques, XXXIX (3), mars, 1933, 161). A biographical note on Judge Doucet of Quebec (1815-1878).
- HUMPHREY, WILLIAM. *Journal kept by William Humphrey of Capt. Thayer's company, on the march to Quebec, under the command of Col. Benedict Arnold, 1775-76* (Magazine of history, with notes and queries, extra number 166.) Tarrytown, N.Y.: William Abbatt. 1931. Pp. 66. (\$5.00)
- HUTCHINS, E. J. *The maintenance of imperial influence in French Canada (1791-1840)* (Revue d'histoire des colonies, jan.-fév., 1933, 17-49). A paper which centres upon the fate of an experimental and liberal policy during forty years, first of war, then of commercial reconstruction.

- Journal of the Commissioners for Trade and Plantations from January, 1749-50, to December, 1753.* London: H.M.S.O. 1932. (£1 12s. 6d.)
- KINZIE, Mrs. JOHN H. *Wau-Bun: The "early day" in the North-west.* With historical introduction by MILO MILTON QUAIFFE. Chicago: The Lakeside Press. 1932. Pp. lxii, 609. This is a reprint of the original edition of 1856 edited with biographical and other notes and introductions by the publishers and the editor, and an index. The author was the wife of an Indian agent (1830-1833) and the book contains valuable information on the difficulties with the Indians, on the fur-trade and the American Fur Company, on life in the army, and on travel especially on the Fox-Wisconsin Portage route from Green Bay to Winnebago. The Chicago massacre and other details of the War of 1812 are also described. The editor includes a note on the origin of the Durham boat (p. 510) and the publishers state that the founder of the publishing firm was R. R. Donnelley who went from Hamilton to Chicago in 1864. The volume is a fitting tribute to Chicago's hundredth anniversary. (H. A. INNIS)
- LEFEBVRE, JEAN-JACQUES. *Notes sur Simon Sanguinet* (Bulletin des recherches historiques, XXXIX (2), fév., 1933, 83). A note on the identity of the judge of the Court of Common Pleas at Montreal in 1788.
- Lettre de M. L. Fromenteau, contenant quelque description de Gaspé, et avis sur ses cours de justice, à M. J. A. Panet* (Bulletin des recherches historiques, XXXIX (3), mars, 1933, 154-8). A letter dated Quebec, March 15, 1794, transcribed from the Archives of the Province of Quebec.
- LONG, J. C. *Lord Jeffery Amherst, a soldier of the king.* New York: The Macmillan Company. 1933. Pp. xxi, 373. (\$4.75) Reviewed on page 204.
- LONGLEY, R. S. *Mob activities in revolutionary Massachusetts* (New England quarterly, VI (1), March, 1933, 98-130). A study of the human material with which the American radicals had to work, and how they used it to further their own political programmes. Describes the Boston tea party, tarring and feathering the tories, etc.
- MCARTHUR, L. A. (ed.). *Location of Point Vancouver* (Oregon historical quarterly, XXXIV (1), March, 1933, 31-8). The report of Captain R. S. Patton of the United States Coast and Geodetic Survey regarding the location of the point on the Washington shore of the Columbia River to which Lieutenant Broughton in 1792 applied the name Vancouver.
- MARTIN, THOMAS P. *Free trade and the Oregon question, 1842-1846 (Facts and factors in economic history,* Cambridge, Mass., 1932, pp. 470-91). The connection is shown between the repeal of the Corn Laws, the enactment of the Walker tariff, and the settlement of the Oregon question.
- Le massacre de La Balme* (Illustration, 24 déc., 580). A little known episode of the War of Independence. M. de La Balme, colonel in the revolutionary army, left Cahokia with a hundred volunteers to surprise Detroit and invade Canada; the little force was massacred by a band of Indians in 1780.
- MASSICOTTE, E.-Z. *A propos de l'explorateur Gabriel Franchère* (Bulletin des recherches historiques, XXXIX (4), avril, 1933, 220-1). A note on the author of *Relation d'un voyage à la côte du Nord-ouest de l'Amérique septentrionale durant les années 1810, 1811, 1812, 1813, et 1814.*
- MULLETT, CHARLES F. *Coke and the American Revolution* (Economica, (38), Nov., 1932, 457-71). An attempt to show the connection between a major prophet of the Puritan Revolution in England (Sir Edward Coke) and the apologists of the American Revolution.
- NASATIR, A. P. *St. Louis during the British attack of 1780 (New Spain and the Anglo-American west: Historical contributions presented to Herbert Eugene Bolton,* Los Angeles, 1932, I, 239-61). An account based on the original report of Lieutenant-Governor De Leyba. The original documents published herein give the layman's point of view and tell the story of the events of May 26, 1780.

- NETTELS, CURTIS. *British payments in the American colonies, 1685-1715* (English historical review, XLVIII (190), April, 1933, 229-49). An investigation into the increased expenditure for the various American services, and the problem of making payments in the provinces.
- New Spain and the Anglo-American west: Historical contributions presented to Herbert Eugene Bolton*. Volume I: *New Spain*; volume II: *The Anglo-American West*. Los Angeles: Privately printed. 1932. Pp. xii, 333; 277. To be reviewed later.
- NORTHMAN, JOHN. *A woman foiled their plans* (Canadian magazine, Oct., 1932, 9, 46). The story of a forgotten Canadian heroine of Gananoque in 1838—Elizabeth Barnett-Fairman.
- PERKINS, DEXTER. *The Monroe doctrine, 1826-1867*. (The Albert Shaw lectures on diplomatic history, 1932. The Walter Hines Page School of International Relations.) Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press. 1933. Pp. xi, 580. (\$3.50) This excellent volume will doubtless take its place as the authoritative work on the subject. The relation of the doctrine to the Oregon question is discussed.
- PETERSEN, WILLIAM J. *Steamboating in the upper Mississippi fur trade* (Minnesota history, XIII (3), Sept., 1932, 221-43).
- ROLYAT, JANE. *Wilderness walls*. London and Toronto: J. M. Dent and Sons Limited. 1933. Pp. 268. (\$2.00) A novel, the scene of which is laid in a remote trading station of the Hudson's Bay Company in the eighteen sixties.
- Salem vessels out at the beginning of the War of 1812* (Proceedings of the United States Naval Institute, LVIII, Jan., 1933, 30-2).
- SPAULDING, E. WILDER. *New York in the critical period, 1783-1789*. New York: Columbia University Press. 1932. Pp. xii, 334. (\$4.50) To be reviewed later.
- SPENCER, OMAR C. *Chief Cassino* (Oregon historical quarterly, XXIV (1), March, 1933, 19-30). The story of an Indian chief whose name is connected with the early history of Oregon, and with Dr. John McLoughlin, and the Hudson's Bay Company.
- SQUIER, EPHRAIM. *Diary of Arnold's expedition to Quebec*. (Magazine of history with notes and queries, extra number 160, XL (4), 37-48.) Tarrytown, N.Y.: William Abbatt. 1930. (\$5.00)
- SWIGGETT, HOWARD. *War out of Niagara: Walter Butler and the Tory Rangers*. (New York State Historical Association series edited by DIXON RYAN FOX, number II.) New York: Columbia University Press. 1933. Pp. xuv, 309. (\$3.50) To be reviewed later.
- WALLACE, W. S. *Notes on the family of Malcolm Fraser of Murray Bay* (Bulletin des recherches historiques, XXXIX (5), mai, 1933, 267-71).
- William Darling Campbell* (Bulletin des recherches historiques, XXXIX (2), fév., 1933, 128). A note on a notary of Quebec (1830-1885).
- YOUNG, A. H. *Waiting for the Treaty of Versailles, 1783* (Canadian churchman, Feb. 16, 1933, 100). An expression of the feelings of the Loyalists with regard to the Treaty of 1783.

(4) The Dominion of Canada

- Almanach de la langue française, 1933*. Montréal: Éditions Albert Lévesque. 1933. Pp. 160, 48, 64. (35 cents) Contains among other features six penetrating character-sketches of French Canadians prominent in public life.
- BIGGAR, O. M. *The selection of judges: A comparison between England and Canada* (Canadian bar review, XI (1), Jan., 1933, 27-40). An address delivered at the annual meeting of the Canadian Bar Association, 1932.

Canada. *Canadian-American relations* (Round table, (90), March, 1933, 410-9).

Canada. *Politics and parties* (Round table, (90), March, 1933, 401-9). A résumé of recent political problems and events.

Canadian almanac and miscellaneous directory for the year 1933, containing full and authentic commercial, statistical, astronomical, departmental, financial and general information. Toronto: Copp. 1933. (\$3.50)

The Canadian Annual Review of Public Affairs, 1932. Founded by J. CASTELL HOPKINS. Toronto: Canadian Review Company. 1933. Pp. 773. (\$8.00) The present volume of the *Canadian annual review*, which covers the year ending June 30, 1932, fully measures up to the standard which the editors of this invaluable work have set themselves. The volume deals not only with the Imperial Economic Conference of 1932 at Ottawa, but also with the world-wide economic crisis, and with a large range of foreign affairs, such as the Lausanne Reparations Conference, the Disarmament Conference, and the Sino-Japanese dispute. There is also a full report of purely Canadian affairs, both dominion and provincial, and a valuable statistical section, which enables the reader to study in comparative form economic conditions in Canada during a three-year period. It is with regret that one notes the omission from the bibliographical section entitled "Canadian books of 1931" of all books in French; nor is there any explanation of this serious omission. The volume is furnished with the usual excellent indexes. (W. S. WALLACE)

CHURCHILL, RICHARD. *The gathering scene* (Country guide, Mar., 1933, 3, 30-1). A résumé of the present political situation in Canada and the policies of the political parties.

Dominion of Canada military defence force (Army quarterly, Jan., 1933, 364-75).

DOUGHTY, ARTHUR G. *Report of the public archives for the year 1932.* Ottawa: F. A. Acland. 1933. Pp. 689. (\$1.00) The appendix to the volume contains the third part of the Calendar of state papers, addressed by the secretaries of state for the colonies to the governors-general or officers administering the Province of Lower Canada, from 1787 until 1841 (*series G* of the Public Archives), 1838-1841, which was prepared by the late William Smith. The volume also contains a full and very excellent and clearly printed index of the three parts of the calendar.

Foreign law in the British Empire (Round table, (90), March, 1933, 362-82). A brief section deals with French law in Canada.

GLAZEBROOK, G. P. de T. *Sir Edmund Walker.* With a foreword by Sir ROBERT FALCONER, K.C.M.G. Oxford University Press. 1933. Pp. xv, 160. (\$3.00) To be reviewed later.

HERBERT, WALTER B. *Criss-cross Canada* (Queen's quarterly, XL (1), Feb., 1933, 140-7). Reflections on racial, political, religious, economic, and geographical cross-currents of Canadian nationalism.

IRVINE, WILLIAM. *The Co-operative Commonwealth idea* (Canadian unionist, VI (4), Sept., 1932, 66-7). A definition of the doctrine of a recent Canadian political movement.

KENNEDY, W. P. M. *The Canadian provinces and the South African provinces* (South African law times, II (2), Feb., 1933, 28-30). Outlines the Canadian provincial system.

_____ *The Canadian scheme of legislative powers and the South African provinces* (South African law times, II (3), March, 1933, 54-6).

The late John S. Ewart, K.C. (Canadian bar review, XI (3), March, 1933, 208-9). His life and work.

The late Right Honourable F. A. Anglin, P.C. (Canadian bar review, XI (3), March, 1933, 206-7). A brief sketch of his life.

- MCARTHUR, D. *The new year in Canada* (Queen's quarterly, XL (1), Feb., 1933, 148-53). Reflections on the Co-operative Commonwealth Federation, the forthcoming World Economic Conference, the stabilization of currency, etc.
- MACGREGOR, D. C. *Have Canadian governments been spending beyond their means?* (Commerce journal, published by the University of Toronto Commerce Club, March, 1933, mimeographed, 14-5). Some facts about national income and national savings.
- MACKENZIE, NORMAN. *Canadian policy in the Far East* (Queen's quarterly, XL (2), May, 1933, 189-200). A sketch of Canadian foreign policy in general and an examination of Canada's relations with China, Japan, and Russia.
- MAXWELL, J. A. *Better terms* (Queen's quarterly, XL (1), Feb., 1933, 125-39). An historical examination of the system of federal subsidy in Canada, "one feature of federal-provincial relations which emphatically requires reform".
A flexible portion of the British North America Act (Canadian bar review, XI (3), March, 1933, 149-57). The writer points out that the section of the B.N.A. Act providing for the payment of subsidies to the provincial governments from the federal treasury has been altered repeatedly by action of the federal parliament alone.
- Prince Edward Island and Confederation* (Dalhousie review, XIII (1), April, 1933, 53-60). The documented story of the political reversal of 1873 with regard to Confederation.
- 1932 in retrospect: Outstanding events of the year reviewed* (Canadian comment, II (1), Jan., 1933, 18-9).
- PIERRE, R. J. *Le Canada* (Journal des économistes, 91^e année, 15 oct., 1932, 401-13). A statistical survey of Canada's population, resources and production, transportation, export and imports, financial situation, etc.
- ROGERS, NORMAN McL. *Evolution and reform of the Canadian cabinet* (Canadian bar review, XI (4), 227-44). A discussion of the results of the federalization of the Canadian cabinet and of significant changes in the composition of the executive which have taken place in recent years.
Federal influences on the Canadian cabinet (Canadian bar review, XI (2), Feb., 1933, 103-21). Professor Rogers shows historically how the development of the cabinet system in Canada has been influenced by the federal character of her institutions.
- The introduction of cabinet government in Canada* (Canadian bar review, XI (1), Jan., 1933, 1-17). "It is the purpose of this article to deal particularly with the changing relations between the Governor and the Executive Council, and to reveal the gradual assimilation of the executive branch of government in Canada to the organization and conventions of the cabinet system in Great Britain."
- Our incredible constitution* (Canadian forum, XIII (150), March, 1933, 210-2). An illustration of the difficulty of amending the British North America Act.
- RUSSENHOLT, E. S. *Six thousand Canadian men, being the history of the 44th Battalion Canadian Infantry, 1914-19*. Published by the 44th Battalion Association. 1932. Pp. xii, 364; maps, plans, and illustrations.
- UNDERHILL, FRANK H. *Goldwin Smith* (University of Toronto quarterly, II (3), April, 1933, 285-309). A critical analysis of his life, his political career and doctrines, and his literary activities.

III. PROVINCIAL AND LOCAL HISTORY

(1) The Maritime Provinces

- BAIRD, K. A. *A Maritimer speaks his mind* (Maclean's magazine, Feb. 1, 1933, 9, 36-7). A statement of Maritime grievances against Confederation, the dominion government, and western Canada.

- DAVIS, EDITH A. *Cape Breton Island* (Canadian geographical journal, VI (3), March, 1933, 135-44). An illustrated description.
- MACLEAN, DEWART. *The forgotten island* (Maclean's magazine, Jan. 15, 1933, 23, 26). Picturesque items of historical and descriptive interest about Cape Breton Island.
- MORSE, WILLIAM INGLIS. *The land of the new adventure*. London: Bernard Quaritch Limited. 1932. Pp. xviii, 158. (£2. 15. 0) The "land of the new adventure" is Nova Scotia.
- OWEN, BEVERLEY. *The mysterious Magdalens* (Maclean's magazine, Dec. 1, 1932, 14, 26, 32). A descriptive history of the Magdalen Islands.

(2) The Province of Quebec

- Au pays de l'énergie (*Pages trifluviennes*, série B, no. 3.) Les Trois-Rivières: Les Editions du Bien Public. 1932. Pp. 46. A short descriptive article devoted to Three Rivers and its geographical district, mainly economic by RAYMOND TANGHE. (G. LANCOT)
- BÉLANGER, CHARLES-ÉMILE. *Les Cantons de l'Est (Études économiques: Thèses présentées à la "Licence en Sciences commerciales" en mai, 1932, II 411-53)*. An economic survey of the Eastern Townships of Quebec, dealing with physical geography, climate, communications and transport, agriculture, industry, forestry, and commerce. With a bibliography.
- BELLEMARE, P.-A.-A. et TRUDEL, HERVÉ. *Batiscan (St.-François-Xavier de)*. (*Pages trifluviennes*, série A, no. 5.) Les Trois-Rivières: Les Editions du Bien Public. 1933. Pp. 55. A stringing together of short notes replete with historical information for the history of this parish. (G. LANCOT)
- BILODEAU, GEORGES-MARIE. *Notre question rurale* (Canada français, XX (7), mars, 1933, 604-12). Considerations in favour of agricultural expansion in Quebec.
- BOUCHARD, GEORGES. *Other days other ways*. Toronto: The Macmillan Company of Canada. 1930. (\$2.50) Sketches of life thirty or forty years ago in a small town in Quebec.
- BOVEY, WILFRID. *Ville La Salle—a history* (Municipal review of Canada, XXVIII (4), April, 1932, 23-5, 29). A history of the town of Ville La Salle on the Lachine Rapids in the Province of Quebec.
- BROUILLETTE, BENOIT. *Le développement industriel de la Vallée du Saint-Maurice*. (*Pages trifluviennes*, série A, no. 2.) Les Trois-Rivières: Les Editions du Bien Public. 1932. Pp. 54. An interesting pamphlet describing the former economic activities of the district of Three Rivers, and its present industrial development. It is completed by a good bibliography. (G. LANCOT)
- CARON, IVANHOË. *Historique de la voirie dans la Province de Québec* (Bulletin des recherches historiques, XXXIX (4), avril, 1933, 198-215). A documented, detailed account of roads in New France. *Ibid.* (XXXIX (5), mai, 1933, 278-300). "Régime anglais; Les ordonnances de 1766 et de 1777; Le portage de Témiscouata; La loi de 1796".
- COLLINS, FREDERICK T. *The Province of Quebec* (Agricultural and industrial progress in Canada, XIV (7), July, 1932, 119-22). An account of the historic and legal background of the Province of Quebec.
- CROFF, Mme E. *Les femmes de la province de Québec sont-elles en faveur du vote féminin?* (Canada français, XX (6), fév., 1933, 536-40).

- DAVIES, BLODWEN. *Romantic Quebec*. Illustrated by BARBARA STEPHENS. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart. 1932. Pp. vii, 213. (\$2.50) Miss Davies has an extraordinary flair for writing the modern type of guide book. For the casual tourist to Quebec who is not too particular about actual facts, and who presumably has no previous knowledge of Canadian history, and who, moreover wants the history which he is about to acquire generously leavened with romance, her latest volume on Quebec fills every requirement. With the easy vivid charm which we have come to associate with her former books, Miss Davies leads her modern pilgrims street by street through Quebec, along the Beauport shore, out the Ste. Foy Road, or across the river to the Island of Orleans, attaching a story to every highway and byway as she goes. The book is attractively printed and the illustrations by Barbara Stephens are delightful. The proof-reading has not been well done, and the use (or avoidance) of accents on French names is quite arbitrary and original.
- DÉSAULNIERS, Abbé J. *Reliques*. (*Pages trifluviennes*, série B, no. 4.) Les Trois-Rivières: Les Éditions du Bien Public. 1933. Pp. 46. Just a few literary sketches round a few historical details relating to the old college of Three Rivers. (G. LANCTOT)
- DUBÉ, DOLLARD. *Les vieilles forges il y a 60 ans*. (*Pages trifluviennes*, série A, no. 4.) Les Trois-Rivières: Les Éditions du Bien Public. 1933. Pp. 62. In the guise of short articles, this pamphlet contains detailed and useful information on the old St. Maurice iron works near Three Rivers as operated about sixty years ago. (G. LANCTOT)
- GODIN, LOUIS GEORGES. *Mémorial trifluvien*. (*Pages trifluviennes*, série B, no. 1.) Les Trois-Rivières: Les Éditions du Bien Public. 1932. Pp. 46. A handful of reminiscences of boyhood days in Three Rivers by a young doctor who unfortunately passed away while this pamphlet was being printed. (G. LANCTOT)
- LA BRUÈRE, MONTARVILLE BOUCHER de. *Chapelles et églises trifluviennes*. (*Pages trifluviennes*, série A, no. 3.) Les Trois-Rivières: Les Éditions du Bien Public. 1933. Pp. 45. An interesting pamphlet dealing with the first churches and chapels built at Three Rivers during the seventeenth century. It contains probably the first contract, June 24, 1649, for the construction of a church in Canada. The last pages are devoted to the several islands at the entrance of the St. Maurice River. (GUSTAVE LANCTOT)
- LAPIVIÈRE, J.-A. *L'épargne et les Canadiens français (Études économiques: Thèses présentées à la "Licence en Sciences commerciales" en mai, 1932, II, 7-69)*. A detailed study of saving and thrift in French Canada. With a bibliography.
- LONGSTRETH, T. MORRIS. *Quebec, Montreal and Ottawa*. New York and London: The Century Company. 1933. Pp. xi, 318. (\$2.75) To be reviewed later.
- MASSICOTTE, E.-Z. *La vieille rue de l'Hôpital à Montréal* (Bulletin des recherches historiques, XXXIX (3), mars, 1933, 162).
- NANTEL, MARÉCHAL. *Bâtonniers de Montréal* (Bulletin des recherches historiques, XXXIX (4), avril, 1933, 222-4). A list with dates of office.
- ROY, P. G. *Rapport de l'archiviste de la Province de Québec pour 1931-1932*. Québec: Redempti Paradis. 1932. Pp. xiv, 451. To be reviewed later.
- *Les rues de Québec*. Lévis: 1932. Pp. ix, 220. A list of the streets of Québec City which is really a history of the city. The streets are listed alphabetically and the history of each street-name is given, forming a fascinating collection of biographical and episodic notes on the history of New France and the Province of Québec. The book is prefaced by an historical foreword and contains a somewhat unnecessary index of street-names.
- SYLVAIN. *Mon petit pays*. (*Pages trifluviennes*, série C, no. 2.) Les Trois-Rivières: Les éditions du "Bien Public". 1933. Pp. 46.

TRAQUAIR, RAMSAY, and NEILSON, G. A. *The old presbytery at Batiscan, Quebec*. (McGill University publications, series XIII, art and architecture, no. 36.) Reprinted with additional plates from the Journal, Royal Architectural Institute of Canada, January, 1933. Montreal: 1933. Pp. 12. An illustrated description of the old presbytery in the seigniory of Batiscan, on the north shore of the St. Lawrence, east of Three Rivers.

(3) The Province of Ontario

FREEMAN, C. M. *Grandson of Canada* (Maclean's magazine, March 15, 1933, 24, 45-6). A genealogical and bibliographical sketch of the Chrysler family, originally of Kent County.

INNIS, H. A. *The rise and decline of Toronto* (Canadian forum, XIII (151), April, 1933, 251). A brief outline of Toronto's rise and fall as a relatively independent financial centre.

YEIGH, FRANK. *Simcoe's Toronto, an odd town* (Saturday night, Nov. 5, 1932, 3-4).

(4) The Prairie Provinces

BUCHANAN, DONALD W. *Waterton Lakes National Park* (Canadian geographical journal, VI (2), Feb., 1933, 69-82). A description of a national park in the south-west corner of Alberta.

McKILLICAN, JACK. *The west talks back* (Maclean's magazine, March 15, 1933, 14, 47-8). A reply to Mr. Baird, noted on p. 235.

METCALFE, J. H. (ed.). *The tread of the pioneers*. Under the distinguished patronage of the government of the Province of Manitoba, the corporation of the city of Portage la Prairie, the council of the rural municipality of Portage la Prairie. Published by the Portage la Prairie and District Old Timers' Association. Toronto: The Ryerson Press. 1932. Pp. xii, 305. (\$3.00) Reviewed on page 219.

PRICE, ELIZABETH BAILEY. *City of Calgary* (Maclean's magazine, April 15, 1933, 26, 40, 42). A description, a history, and an interpretation.

STEWART, DAVID A. *Glimpses at Manitoba history*. Winnipeg: Nov. 22, 1932. Pp. 15. An address to the Men's Club of the First Lutheran Church, Winnipeg, giving some interesting side-lights on the early story of Manitoba.

TURNER, JOHN PETER. *Men of the Long Portage* (Canadian geographical journal, VI (1), Jan., 1933, 5-15). Memories of the Red River voyageurs and fur-traders of the North-west.

(5) British Columbia and the North-West Coast

MONRO, A. S. *The medical history of British Columbia* (Canadian Medical Association journal, XXV, 1931, 336-42, 470-7; XXVI, 1932, 88-93, 225-30, 345-8, 601-7, 725-32; XXVII, 1932, 187-93). A chronological history from the earliest fur-trading days.

WAGNER, HENRY R. *George Davidson, geographer of the North-west coast of America* (Quarterly of the California Historical Society, XI (4), Dec., 1932, 299-320). An appreciative account of his life and work and a bibliography of his geographical writings.

(6) North-west Territories and the Arctic Regions

BLUNDELL, E. T. and DEXTER, GRANT. *The forbidden land* (Maclean's magazine, March 15, 1933, 19, 36-7, 38-9). The case for and against the administration of the North-west Territories.

GARDNER, GÉRARD. *La région de la Baie d'Hudson: perspectives agricoles* (L'actualité économique, 8^e année (12), mars, 1933, 516-25).

MITCHELL, ROSS. *Dr. John Rae, Arctic explorer, and his search for Franklin* (Canadian Medical Association journal, XXVIII (1), Jan., 1933, 85-90). A paper read before the section of historical medicine, of the Canadian Medical Association, Toronto, June 23, 1932.

ODELL, N. E. *Surveying in northern Labrador* (Discovery, XIII (146), Feb., 1932, 47-9). An account of the surveying expedition in 1931 of Sir Wilfred Grenfell and Professor Alexander Forbes.

WELZL, JAN. *The quest for Polar treasures*. With an introduction by BEDRICH GOLOBEK and EDVARD VALENTA. Translated by M. and R. EWATHERALL. London: George Allen and Unwin; Toronto; Thomas Nelson and Sons. 1933. Pp. 352. (\$3.00) To be reviewed later.

WOONTON, G. A. *A cruise north on the Ungava* (Beaver, (4), March, 1933, 205-9). An account of the Canadian Arctic patrol in the summer of 1932.

IV. GEOGRAPHY, ECONOMICS, AND STATISTICS

(1) General

ALLINGHAM, EARL C. *Canada and the world gold situation*. Toronto: K. A. MacPhadyen, 304 Bay St. 1931. Pp. 64.

AULD, F. C. and FINKELMAN, J. *The status of trade unions in Canada* (Canadian Workers' Educational Association bulletin, no. 1).

The legal responsibility of trade unions in Canada (*ibid.*, no. 2).

A comparison of British and Canadian trade union legislation (*ibid.*, no. 3). These bulletins are issued by the Workers' Educational Association and can be obtained from the Department of University Extension, Simcoe Hall, Toronto. The bulletins deal with trade union law in a non-technical manner.

Trade unions and the law (Bulletin no. 1, Workers' Educational Association of Ontario, February, 1933). A short monograph for the information of workers in Ontario, outlining the law on trade unions.

BLADEN, V. W. *A note on the reports of public investigations into combines in Canada, 1888-1932* (Contributions to Canadian economics, V, 1932, 61-76).

CAMPBELL, A. C. *Canada's natural resources: The basis of future greatness* (Canadian unionist, VI (9), Feb., 1933, 151-3). The first of a series of articles on federal, provincial, and municipal legislative and administrative policy with respect to natural resources.

Études économiques: Thèses présentées à la "Licence en Sciences commerciales" en mai 1932. Vol. II. (Publications de l'École des Hautes Études Commerciales de Montréal.) Montréal: Librairie Beauchemin, 430, rue Saint-Gabriel. 1932. Pp. 453. To be reviewed later. Papers listed separately in this bibliography.

Financial manipulation: A project of reform (Queen's quarterly, XL (2), May, 1933, 264-81). The first of a series of articles prepared by members of the Department of Political and Economic Science, and of the courses in commerce, of Queen's University, concerned with certain faults in Canada's economic and political structure. This article deals with the need for reforming company law.

FRIGON, AUGUSTIN. *Le Canadien français et l'industrie* (Revue trimestrielle canadienne, no. 73, mars, 1933, 1-11). A talk given before the Société des Conférences de l'Université d'Ottawa, Feb. 26, 1933.

INNIS, HAROLD A. *Problems of staple production in Canada*. Toronto: Ryerson Press. 1933. Pp. xi, 124. (\$2.50) To be reviewed later.

The state of economic science in Canada (Commerce journal, published by the University of Toronto Commerce Club, March, 1933, mimeographed, 5-8). An historical and bibliographical survey of the development of economics in Canada.

- INNIS, HAROLD A. and LOWER, A. R. M. (eds.). *Select documents in Canadian economic history, 1783-1885*. Toronto: The University of Toronto Press. 1933. Pp. viii, 846. (\$5.00) To be reviewed later.
- KENSIT, H. E. M. *Romance of water-power* (Canadian geographical journal, VI (1), Jan., 1933, 35-48). A general survey of the world's water-power resources and a more detailed account of development in Canada.
- LAMARQUE, E. *The thundering herd* (Forest and outdoors, Nov., 1932, 403-4, 410). An account of the passing of the buffalo.
- LOWER, A. R. M. *Our present discontents* (Dalhousie review, XIII (1), April, 1933, 97-108). Pages 103 to 106 deal with Canada's problem of supply of, and demand for, labour.
- MCDIARMID, O. J. *Some aspects of Canadian tariff policy* (Commerce journal, published by the University of Toronto Commerce Club, March, 1933, mimeographed, 16-19). Some past, present, and future aspects of Canadian fiscal practice.
- McLAREN, W. W. *Some recent economic changes in Canada* (Facts and factors in economic history, Cambridge, Mass., 1932, pp. 338-56).
- MOORE, WILLIAM HENRY. *Economic relations of the United States and Canada with special reference to tariffs*. (Reprinted from the Institute of Public Affairs, proceedings, June, 1931, pp. 55-79.) Pickering, Ont. The author. 1931. (Private distribution)
- O'LEARY, M. GRATTAN. *Reciprocity* (Maclean's magazine, April 15, 1933, 19, 36). A brief review of the history of Canadian-American reciprocity in the last seventy-five years.
- La pêche au Labrador en 1736-1737 et 1737-1738 (Bulletin des recherches historiques, XXXIX (4), avril, 1933, 253-6). Statistics taken from the archives of the Province of Quebec.
- ROMIER, LUCIEN. *Problèmes économiques de l'heure présente*. (Conférences données à l'École des Hautes Études Commerciales de Montréal, du 29 septembre au 25 octobre 1932.) Montreal: Éditions Albert Lévesque. 1933. Pp. 318. To be reviewed later.
- Stephen Leacock's plan to relieve the depression in 6 days, to remove it in 6 months, to eradicate it in 6 years*. Toronto: The Macmillan Company of Canada. 1933. Pp. 18. (25 cents) Mr. Leacock would raise the level of prices by reducing the gold-content of the dollar; he would create employment by "self-liquidating" public works; and use the respite thus gained to remove the fundamental causes of the economic crisis.
- WELSH, NORBERT. *The waning herds: The last of the buffalo hunters tells his story of a North-west in the making* (Maclean's magazine, Jan. 1, 1933, 11, 26, 28; Jan. 15, 1933, 16-7, 49, 52-3; Feb. 1, 1933, 23-4, 39-40; Feb. 15, 1933, 23-4; March 1, 1933, 23-4, 38, 40; March 15, 1933, 25, 52-3). Rambling reminiscences of the early days in the North-west.
- YEIGH, FRANK (comp.). *5000 facts about Canada*, 1933 edition. Toronto: Canadian Facts Publishing Company, 588 Huron Street, Toronto. 1933. Pp. 72, xxiv. (35 cents) An extremely useful little booklet of miscellaneous facts and statistics.
- (2) Agriculture
- CHICANOT, E. L. *A composite picture of Canadian farming* (Empire review, no. 386, March, 1933, 156-60). A brief survey of the progress of agricultural improvements and civilization in Canada.

- HAYTHORNE, G. V. *Harvest labor in western Canada: An episode in economic planning* (Quarterly journal of economics, XLVII (3), May, 1933, 533-44). A consideration of the results of the last ten years of economic planning under governmental initiative in connection with the problem of labour for harvesting in the Prairie Provinces.
- MACGIBBON, D. A. *The future of the Canadian export trade in wheat* (Contributions to Canadian economics, V, 1932, 7-42). Deals with the subject chiefly with respect to the conditions under which western Canada supplies wheat to the international market. The conclusions of the article are of far-reaching importance to Canadian governmental policy.
- RAMBAUD, BENOIT. *Grignon au Canada: Compte rendu du voyage*. (Publié par l'Association Amicale des Anciens Elèves de Grignon, Seine-et-Oise.) Chateauroux: Imprimerie Langlois. 1930. Pp. 115. In August, 1929, under the auspices of the Comités France-Amérique de France et du Canada, a commission came from L'Ecole Nationale d'Agriculture de Grignon to study agricultural organization, scientific research in agriculture, and the teaching of agriculture, in the Provinces of Ontario and Quebec. This little book is a sort of illustrated diary and souvenir of the voyage, and it describes and comments on the places visited and the information obtained.
- (3) Communications**
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- BLADEN, M. L. *Construction of railways in Canada to the year 1885* (Contributions to Canadian economics, V, 1932, 43-60). A list of dates of construction of railroads; the list is divided into geographical areas and arranged chronologically.
- CALVIN, D. D. *A lake-built ocean vessel* (Queen's quarterly, XL (1), Feb., 1933, 58-64). The story of the barque *Garden Island*, built at Garden Island, near Kingston, in 1875-6.
- CHAMBERS, H. V. *Two kings and a bridge* (Canadian National Railways magazine, XIX (2), Feb., 1933, 6, 30). An account of the building of the Victoria tubular bridge, and its successors, across the St. Lawrence River at Montreal.
- DEXTER, GRANT. *Rail riddle* (Maclean's magazine, Jan. 15, 1932, 13, 32-3). A critical analysis of the railway "muddle", the Duff Report, Mr. Beatty's proposals, and Sir Henry Thornton's recommendations.
- DUROCHER, GÉRARD. *La concurrence de la route et du chemin de fer au Canada (Études économiques: Thèses présentées à la "Licence en Sciences Commerciales" en mai, 1932, II, 341-410)*. A statistical inquiry into the competition of automobiles with railways in Canada. With charts, tables, and a bibliography.
- FRENETTE, EDMOND. *L'étatisation des chemins de fer au Canada (Études économiques: Thèses présentées à la "Licence en Sciences commerciales" en mai, 1932, II, 227-52)*. A study of the situation which led up to the formation of the Canadian National Railways in 1920 and a discussion of the advantages and disadvantages of state ownership.
- Great Lakes. St. Lawrence Deep Waterway Treaty. Text of the treaty between the United States and Canada, signed at Washington, July 18, 1932; statements of the president and the Department of State; and report of the Joint Board of Engineers of April 9, 1932.* (Department of State publication no. 347.) Washington: 1932. Pp. 25. (5 cents)
- St. Lawrence waterway now a definite construction prospect* (Contract record and engineering review, XLVI (30), July 27, 1932, 835-8). A summary of the terms of the treaty concluded between the United States and Canada. With maps.

THOMPSON, NORMAN and EDGAR, J. H. *Canadian railway development from the earliest times*. Toronto: The Macmillan Company of Canada. 1933. Pp. xvi, 402. (\$4.00) Reviewed on page 214.

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(4) Immigration and Emigration

ANGUS, H. F. *A contribution to international ill-will* (Dalhousie review, XIII (1), April, 1933, 22-33). Questions and answers concerning the Immigration Act, the Chinese Immigration Act, and certain orders-in-council.

CORMIE, JOHN A. *Canada and the new Canadians*. Toronto: Social Service Council of Canada. 1931. Pp. 30. (25 cents)

LEIBBRANT, GEORGE. *The emigration of the German Mennonites from Russia to the United States and Canada in 1873-1880*. Part I (Mennonite quarterly review, Oct., 1932).

MASSICOTTE, E.-Z. *L'émigration aux Etats-Unis il y a 40 ans* (deuxième partie) (Bulletin des recherches historiques, XXXIX (2), fév., 1933, 86-8). A list of the emigrants from Batiscan, parish of Saint-François-Xavier, Champlain County in the 1880's and 1890's.

Ibid. (3ème partie) (Bulletin des recherches historiques, XXXIX (3), mars, 1933, 179-80). A list of emigrants to the United States from the Parish of Saint-Narcisse, Champlain County, P.Q., in the 1880's and '90's.

Ibid. (4ème partie) (Bulletin des recherches historiques, XXXIX (4), avril, 1933, 228-31). A list of emigrants from the Parish of Saint-Stanislas, Champlain County, Quebec in the 1880's and '90's.

V. EDUCATIONAL HISTORY

ALDOM, O. J. *Loyola College, Montreal, Quebec* (Municipal review of Canada, XXVIII, (9), Sept., 1932, 9-12).

BARIL, GEORGES. *The University of Montreal: Its history, new buildings and chemistry department* (Canadian chemistry and metallurgy, XVII (2), Feb., 1933, 23-4, 26).

Dalhousie University, Halifax, Nova Scotia (Municipal review of Canada, XXIX (2), Feb., 1933, 7-10, 26). A descriptive history with illustrations.

Handbook of American museums; with an appended list of museums in Canada and Newfoundland. Washington, D.C.: American Association of Museums. 1932. Pp. 779.

LANGFORD, HOWARD D. *Educational service, its functions and possibilities*. (Teachers College, Columbia University contributions to education, no. 509.) New York: Bureau of Publications, Teachers College, Columbia University. 1931. Pp. vi, 212. The descriptive material contained in this study is drawn mainly from educational practice in the Province of Ontario. Its object, however, is not to make a detailed analysis of the system in Ontario, but to deal with issues which would seem to be involved in any educational programme. Of special interest to students of Canadian educational history is the bibliography under the headings: "I. Province of Ontario—A. Official documents, statutes, regulations, proceedings, authorized textbooks, etc.; B. Books, articles, etc.; II. Dominion of Canada."

LEWIS, DAVID. *McGill University* (Municipal review of Canada, XXVIII (3), March, 1932, 8-12; (4) April, 1932, 10-5). A survey of its history and development. With illustrations.

Libraries in Canada: A study of library conditions and needs. By the Commission of Enquiry, JOHN RIDINGTON, chairman, MARY J. L. BLACK, GEORGE H. LOCKE. Toronto: The Ryerson Press; Chicago: The American Library Association. 1933. Pp. 153. This study of libraries in Canada was made possible by the Carnegie Corporation of New York. Every province in Canada was visited by the commission and the opinions of interested and competent people were obtained as to what might be done for the improvement of libraries in the dominion. The report outlines the existing situation with regard to public libraries, dealing with each province separately. Chapters are devoted to government libraries, dominion and provincial (the need for a national library is stressed), and university libraries. Finally suggestions and recommendations for the improvement of the library's service in Canada are offered. Although we do not agree that all the findings of the commission are illustrative of the actual situation, nevertheless the report represents a very necessary and useful piece of spade-work.

MAHEUX, ARTHUR. *Remarques sur les "brevets"* (Canada français, XX (7), mars, 1933, 613-18). Some remarks on university degrees in Canada.

Mount Allison University, Sackville, N.B. (Municipal review of Canada, XXVIII (7, 8), July, Aug., 1932, 9-12, 9-13). An account of its history, tradition, and personnel and a description of its buildings.

Ontario Agricultural College, Guelph, Ontario (Municipal review of Canada, XXVIII (11), Nov., 1932, 9-12; (12), Dec., 1932, 8-12). An account of its beginnings and development.

Quarterly bulletin of the International Conference for the Teaching of History. No. 1. Paris: 2, rue de Montpensier. 1933. Pp. 136.

The thirteenth annual meeting of the American Catholic Historical Association, Toronto, Canada, December 26-29, 1932 (Catholic historical review, XIX (1), April, 1933, 50-63). A report of the meeting and brief biographical notices of the scholars who read papers during the session.

Toronto meeting of the American Historical Association (American historical review, XXXVIII (3), April, 1933, 431-47). A report of the meeting of the Association in Toronto on Dec. 27, 28, and 29, 1932.

Trois lettres de Pierre de Rocheblave à Pierre Guy (Bulletin des recherches historiques, XXXIX (3), mars, 1933, 185-8). Letters dated Quebec and Montreal, 1787, regarding education and the Jesuits.

The University of Alberta (Municipal review of Canada, XXVIII (10), Oct., 1932, 9-14). A brief history and description.

The University of Western Ontario (Municipal review of Canada, XXVII (12), December, 1931, 3-7; XXVIII (1), Jan., 1932, 9-13). A sketch of the history and influence of the university from its earliest days.

WEIR, G. M. *Survey of nursing education in Canada.* Toronto: University of Toronto Press. 1932. Pp. 591. (\$2.00)

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VI. RELIGIOUS HISTORY

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BAGLEY, CLARENCE B. (ed.). *Early Catholic missions in old Oregon.* Vol. II. Seattle: Lowman and Hanford Company. 1932. Pp. 122. (\$5.00) Contains comments on the fur-trade and on the Hudson's Bay Company's control.

- CLEARY, THOMAS F. *Huet de la Valinière* (Mid-America, XV, n.s. IV, (4), April, 1933, 213-28). An account of a French-Canadian Sulpician priest with American sympathies in the years 1778 to 1785, who became vicar-general of Illinois.
- DAY, J. FRIEND. *Our church in British Columbia*. (*Our church in Canada*, V.) Toronto: The Church of England in Canada, The Church House, 604 Jarvis Street, Toronto. 1933. Pp. 16. (10 cents) A brief historical résumé of the work of the Church of England in British Columbia.
- GARRAGHAN, GILBERT J. *The ecclesiastical rule of old Quebec in mid-America* (Catholic historical review, XIX (1), April, 1933, 17-32). A paper read at the thirteenth annual meeting of the American Catholic Historical Association, December 28, 1932, at Toronto. The paper sketches the missionary and ecclesiastical history of the Mississippi valley and the region of the Great Lakes when control over the church in this territory was exercised from the capital of New France.
- HEENEY, WM. BERTAL. *Our church in Rupert's Land*. (*Our church in Canada*, IV.) Toronto: The Church of England in Canada, The Church House, 604 Jarvis Street, Toronto. 1933. Pp. 16. (10 cents) A descriptive account of the personnel and history of the Church of England in Rupert's Land.
- HILL, HAMNETT P. *History of Christ Church Cathedral, Ottawa, 1832-1932*. Ottawa: [The Runge Press.] 1932. Pp. 132. Reviewed on page 213.
- KELLY, A. R. *Our Church in Quebec*. (*Our church in Canada*, II.) Toronto: The Church of England in Canada, The Church House, 604 Jarvis Street. 1933. Pp. 16. (10 cents) A study of the growth of its corporate life during the first century and a quarter.
- The lost endowments*. Toronto: The Church of England in Canada, The Church House, 604 Jarvis Street, Toronto. 1933. Pp. 24. In order to explain the sources of the lost endowments of the Church of England in the Province of Rupert's Land, this little pamphlet reviews early days and conditions of the church in Rupert's Land.
- MASSICOTTE, E. Z. *Gervais Lefebvre, premier prêtre né à Montréal et premier docteur en théologie* (Bulletin des recherches historiques, XXXIX (2), fev., 1933, 67-72). Notes on Gervais Lefebvre, ordained in 1696, died 1736.
- [PAQUIN, REV. J.] *The tragedy of old Huronia (wendake chen)*. By a Pilgrim. A popular story of the Jesuit Huron missions of Canada 1615-1650. (Catholic Truth Society, Toronto.) The Martyrs' Shrine, Fort Ste. Marie, near Midland, Ontario. 1932. Pp. xvi, 282. (\$1.10) This is a popular but accurate history sympathetically written by "a Jesuit and Indian missionary". Although the volume has no references to documents, it is clear that the author has used the available sources with care and has avoided some of the errors of other secondary accounts. (JAMES J. TALMAN)
- SIMARD, GEORGES. *La race et la langue françaises dans l'église du Canada* (Revue de l'Université d'Ottawa, III (2), avril-juin, 1933, 131-54). A study of the problem of race and language in the church in Canada in relation to the state and in relation to the people.
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VII. BIBLIOGRAPHY

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- MORRIS, RICHARD B. *Historiography of America 1600-1800 as represented in the publications of Columbia University Press*. New York: Columbia University Press. 1933. Pp. 30. An attempt to locate and, to some extent, evaluate all the publications of Columbia University Press dealing with American (and incidentally Canadian) history from 1600 to 1800. In order to round out the essay as many important works of other publishers have been included as seemed necessary.
- STOCK, LEO F. (comp.). *List of American journals devoted to the humanistic and social sciences* (American Council of learned societies, bulletin no. 8, Oct., 1928, 16-55). Contains an extremely useful list (with descriptions, addresses, prices, etc.) of American historical and economic periodicals.

VIII. ART AND LITERATURE

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